

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

HON. ISIDOR RAYNER

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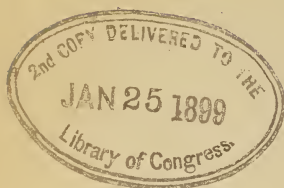
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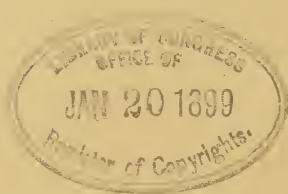
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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

WE HAVE SELECTED THESE SPEECHES OF MR. RAYNER'S FROM A LARGE NUMBER OF SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES MADE BY HIM IN CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE. IN THIS SELECTION WE HAVE BEEN GUIDED BY THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECTS AND THE GENERAL INTEREST AWAKENED BY THEIR DISCUSSION. THEY COVER AN EVENTFUL PERIOD OF OUR POLITICAL HISTORY, AND RELATE TO TOPICS THAT HAVE BEEN AND ARE NOW PROMINENTLY BEFORE THE PUBLIC MIND.

THE PUBLISHERS.



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SPEECH

UPON THE CURRENCY, AGAINST STATE BANKS, AND
AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE TEN PER CENT.
TAX UPON THE CIRCULATION OF THE
SAME. 53RD CONGRESS.

OUR CURRENCY.

I CONSIDER the question of the currency as important as any that at present engages the attention of the country. We are gradually approaching a period, if we have not already reached it, when something must be done to place our financial system upon some permanent basis. The system is not one that has developed with our resources, nor has it been the result of deliberation upon the part of those who are responsible for it, nor is it a system that contains any central plan or idea that points either to originality of design or harmony of method ; on the contrary, it consists of an inharmonious mass of legislation, one portion having no reference to the other, and the whole of it composed of enactments largely resulting from the exigency of the occasion that produced them. It is a political, and not a financial system, the different parts and sections of which have been created at various times, have been brought into operation under the lash of

political pressure or public necessity, and rest upon a foundation that is utterly insecure, so far as the future interests of the Republic are concerned. If there ever was a subject that ought to be entirely removed from the field of politics, this is the one. We should, with mature deliberation and patriotic purpose, unite in an effort to extricate our currency from the complications that surround it, and formulate a plan that will be acceptable to the people, that will gratify the needs of the country and that will give us a monetary system of enduring stability, and as faultless as intelligence and experience can possibly make it. There are a hundred plans suggested. Financiers and college professors, statesmen and demagogues, money-lenders and visionaries have for centuries fought each other upon the field of finance. From the earliest period of civilized government, it has been a favorite battle-ground for warring schools and factions, and with the experience of ages, the conflict still continues. It is difficult to find two elementary writers who agree upon the principles that lie at the root of the discussion, and in a science where order and method and demonstration should prevail, there is hardly anything except perplexity and confusion.

If I may humbly be permitted to say so, I think that a great deal of the trouble has arisen from the fact that primary principles have been ignored, and instead of proceeding with mathematical precision deductively from well established truths, the attempt has been made to start from a single idea, from some favorite notion of the inventor, and then to construct systems which disintegrate

as soon as the ideas upon which they are built give way to some other ideas equally as narrow-minded and impractical.

Do not understand for one moment that I am undertaking even to criticise the illustrious array of talent that has been occupied in this polemical warfare or to underrate the value of the contributions they have furnished to the pages of this interesting department of literature. What I shall attempt to do is not to outline any plan of my own, but from the clash of the contending forces to rescue some practical truths, to submit them to your consideration, in order to discover, if we cannot, guided by these truths, devise for these states and for this people some relief from the extraordinary inequalities and hardships that surround them.

WHAT IS MONEY?

The first question that meets us at the threshold of this inquiry, is "What is money; what is it for, and what purposes is it designed to subserve?" This seems to be a very simple question, and anyone of us can answer it immediately to our own satisfaction, but, Mr. Speaker, the correct answer to it furnishes the key and the solution of the whole situation. For the purpose of this discussion, I do not care for any metaphysical definitions. When I am told that money is a store of value or a standard of deferred payment, or that it is the agency for the division and specialization of labor, I become very much entertained when I have nothing else

to do, but what I want now is to leave the realms of abstract reasoning and to come down to a plain understanding as to what practical purposes money is supposed to serve in the ordinary transactions of daily life.

I will give you a definition which is not my own, but which in all the examination I have been able to devote to this subject, has impressed me as the most concise and sensible statement that I ever have heard. Money, says a great American writer, whose works are known to all of us, is the medium of exchange. Whatever performs this function is money. So long as in any community there is an article which all producers take in exchange for whatever they have to sell, instead of looking about for the particular things, which they, themselves, wish to consume, that article is money. There is no other test of money than this. That which does the money work is the money thing. It may do this well; it may do this ill. It may be good money; it may be bad money; but it is money all the same.

I like this description because it is true. That which does the money work is the money thing. This is not only an economical, but an historical truth. In the early days of civilization the money work was done in various ways. In ancient times money, for instance as we know, was principally of iron, and this metal was still used in Sweden in the wars of Charles XII. The early Romans and Britons used lead. Tin was employed as a circulating medium in Mexico and in the northern parts of Europe, and is now in use in China and the adjoining countries. During the Middle Ages in Europe, copper was almost

the only medium of exchange that was in use. Platinum has been employed to some extent in countries where it is produced, and with the use of both gold and silver we are all familiar. This is the money comparatively of civilized races.

When we inquire among nations who have made little progress in learning and in the art of government, we find all sorts of articles and commodities doing the money work. The Abyssinians use salt. The inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, olive oil. Seal skins are the circulating medium of the Esquimaux. On the western coast of Africa, shells known as cowries are used as money, and for the edification of that school of philosophers who believe that money need have no intrinsic value at all, provided that it is stamped with the approval of the government, I would advert to the fact that among the natives in the Soudan one of their kings having lately become very much embarrassed by reason of a contraction of his finances and finding it necessary to diversify, as well as enlarge his currency, has rejected their doctrine, has dispensed with the use of the bark of the mulberry tree for circulating purposes, and having adopted the advanced theories of those who are pleasantly known upon this side of the water as "Gold Bugs," and "Wall Street Sharks," has decreed that hereafter elephants' teeth shall be the unit of value, and that rum and molasses shall constitute the subsidiary money of the kingdom. These allusions would not be complete if I did not advert to a fact which is a necessary link in the argument of this question, and that is that paper money is now being used

more or less by all the civilized nations of the world. In Europe, all the Southern countries, except France and Italy, have an inconvertible paper issue, and in the Northern countries bank money is largely used either as a substitute for or a representative of gold and silver.

A CONVERTIBLE AND AN INCONVERTIBLE PAPER CURRENCY.

Now, what do we mean when we speak of a convertible or an inconvertible paper currency? Too much attention cannot be paid to this all-important branch of the investigation. Any one who proposes to legislate upon this subject, and does not retain in his mind the broad and fundamental distinction between these two kinds of currency, will not only commit the gravest errors, but is a dangerous person to entrust with the settlement or the management of the public finances. In fact the wild and visionary schemes that are continually proposed in legislative bodies, generally spring from the brains of men who have either ignored the difference between these several species of currency, or who have never troubled themselves sufficiently to discover the line of demarkation between them.

Once confuse and confound, once reject and abandon this distinction and there is no end to the vagaries and illusions that will result therefrom.

The American school of fiat money philosophers and of sub-treasury economists, whose minds appear to be

a howling wilderness upon all the axioms of political economy, in all their discourses, in all the pamphlets with which they have flooded the country, in all the delirious schemes that they have proposed for the relief of the people, have completely abandoned every distinction between a currency that is convertible and a currency that is inconvertible, and as a result of their ignorance or intentional rejection of all the rudimentary and self-evident truths that are taught from every academic chair in every university in the land, they have suggested financial reforms utterly unreasonable, utterly impossible of accomplishment, and the adoption of which would not only revolutionize the whole organization of society, but would strike down and sweep to desolation the whole abundant harvest that labor and industry and genius have reared upon the prolific soil of the Republic.

When I speak of a convertible paper currency, I mean a currency that is redeemable at every moment of time in coin from the moment that it is ushered into the channels of circulation; every other form of currency is inconvertible, call it what you will, and secure it how you may.

The continental currency of the American Revolution, the Assignats and Mandats of the French Revolution, the English money of the period of the Restriction and even the notes of the Bank of France issued during the German War, were all inconvertible, although in many instances the payment of this money was guaranteed by a pledge of property and other security.

THE DANGERS OF AN INCONVERTIBLE CURRENCY.

What is the claim then that is so persistently urged by the advocates of an inconvertible paper currency? That an increase of the currency of a nation raises prices, promotes industry and contributes in general to the welfare and advances the prosperity of the country. There is nothing new about this delusion whatever. It has come down from the remotest times sustained by the weight of great reputations and receiving encouragement from the authority of publicists and philosophers whose names have been a tower of strength to the schools that have congregated around this plausible sophistry. The great philosopher, Hume, so clear upon so many other subjects, was led away by a weird fancy when he looked back into the distant realms of history and saw the retreat of the Roman eagles and the crumbling fragments of the Empire, occasioned as he thought by financial contraction and the loss of money power among the nations she had vanquished. A learned creed of English economists known as the Birmingham Currency School, mistaking times of speculation and inflation for times of prosperity, has given the aid of ~~their~~ influence to as false and pernicious a doctrine as ever bewildered the faculties of man. Some of the greatest minds among the German thinkers had joined hand with the Mercantile School of philosophers, and the dogma that they had inculcated was spreading from seminary to seminary and from place to place, until it really looked as if under the inspiration of

their teaching all the nations of the commercial world would be at war with each other, struggling for a balance of trade and an accumulation of specie; until a revelation shot across the firmament and the wealth of nations was launched upon the tide of time; a work that illumined the world and undermined the whole industrial structure of society, and from that moment education has steadily proceeded until to-day no man would arise before an intelligent assemblage, with the exception perhaps of the Senate of the United States, and assert the proposition save at the risk of ridicule and derision, that money creates values, that prices can be raised by bureaus of engraving and printing, that wealth is measured by volumes of currency and prosperity manufactured at government mints. While I am upon this branch of the investigation, permit me briefly to refer to the arguments that are so frequently urged upon us, that more money means higher prices, and that higher prices mean greater profits to the producing classes. I have read this assertion so often in economical pamphlets that there was a time when I really believed it. I took it upon faith, relying upon its endorsements, without examining the premises from which the conclusion was reached; but, sir, when we analyze this principle we find that it is simply an abstract and ideal proposition. I will not admit for a moment that a rise in prices is a public benefit, but conceding it for the sake of argument, I deny that an increase in the paper currency of a country, when there is no corresponding increase of coin, would in any manner have any effect upon prices measured by the coinage value. Other things

being equal, it would undoubtedly have an effect upon the currency value of exchangeable commodities in general. What does this mean? It simply means that as articles of consumption appreciate in price, the currency depreciates in value, and the greater the depreciation, the higher the prices. I appeal to you to tell me whether this is a condition of affairs that we desire to bring about. We have had spasms of apparent prosperity like this over and over again, from the time of the continental notes when the market ratio between silver and currency was two hundred to one, to the time when our state bank notes declined over night from par to absolute repudiation. When we reach a certain point in the increase of our currency, the point when the supply is equal to the demand, tell me, because I want to know, who is benefited by increasing the supply? When we reach the point of stability of prices, of a currency that expands with the wants of industry and contracts when there is no further requirement for it; tell me, select the class of people, producers or consumers, borrowers or lenders, who could in the slightest degree derive any advantage from an increased circulation that finds no market, has no outlet, and performs no living function.

With the exception of periods of panic and disorder I never saw the time when a man could not obtain all the good money he wanted if he had an equivalent to give for it. Rates of interest are always low when there is a certainty of payment. What makes high rates of interest in distant sections of the country? The uncertainty of the payment and the insufficiency of the security; not

the legitimate demand for money. You may incorporate banks at every cross road and issue currency from every farm yard, if it is good, if it is convertible into coin, if it is secured and backed by a reserve, it will never expand beyond the absolute necessities of trade. Money is like any other commodity that is for sale. If it is worth a hundred cents upon the dollar, I never saw the time when you could buy it for less than a hundred cents on the dollar. If it is below par, if it is a fraud, if there is no security beneath it, and no coin behind it, it is worth exactly what the credit of those who issue it is worth, and if it is worth anything beyond this, it is so because of the imposition and deceit that are practised upon the public by the stamp that the government or the state places upon it.

I want a currency that will contract and expand with the demands of business, and if an increase of circulation is necessary, I am ready at any time to vote for it. I know that those of us who advocate what we believe to be sound and honest money are constantly charged with desiring a contraction of the currency. What do we want a contraction of the currency for? Do the thousands of merchants whom I have the honor of representing upon this floor, and whose success depends largely upon the financial aid that they in the ordinary course of business are continually obtaining from the banks, desire a contraction of the currency? Are they clamoring for a curtailment of their discounts and for high rates of interest? Why should those of us here, who believe that the money of the country ought to be limited by the legitimate de-

mand for it, be arraigned with favoring a concentration of the currency at the great financial centres? The prosperity of my State depends upon the prosperity of the South. When you suffer, we suffer. When there is a failure in your harvests it is felt in every counting room with us. When business is lifeless in your towns and country stores, the pulse weakens and corresponding depression takes place with our merchants in every department of trade. When business revives with you and your seasons are propitious we feel the quickening pulse and show the returning glow of health. Why should I stand here and knowingly inflict an injury upon your constituencies? My warmest sympathies and interests are centered in your section, and the strongest ties a man can have bind me to your people; and you must give me and those who agree with me credit for the same sincerity of purpose that actuates you in your opinions. If there is a character in politics I despise, it is a demagogue, a crafty, blatant demagogue, who has no convictions of his own, and will therefore give credit to no one else for having any; who has no ideas of his own, or if he has, is afraid to give expression to them, for fear it will offend someone whose influence may be necessary to retain him in office, whose whole mission seems to be to discover what other people want, and then to want the same that they do. Men like these are the curse and the bane of the Republic. I would rather have a man all wrong, and have him honest. Popularity is oftentimes but artifice and deceit. I would rather maintain the courage of my convictions and be unpopular. It is the unpopular men,

the men who have disagreed with their generation, and who have defied the public opinion of the hour, who have conferred the greatest blessings on mankind. The men who have led the revolutions of thought have in most instances done so against the authority and the tyranny of public opinion. What we need in public life is more men, not of ability; we have plenty of them; genius is at a discount, but men of fearless honesty and independence, who will lead and not follow, who, if their constituents are wrong, will tell them so; who will educate public opinion and not be enslaved by it.

THE REORGANIZATION OF STATE BANKS WITH THE POWER TO ISSUE MONEY.

Upon this measure that is now before us, I do not know how my constituents feel. There appears to be a difference of opinion among them. I do not know how the party stands in this House. I know what my own convictions are, and I shall proceed to state them as briefly as possible. I am opposed to a reorganization of the State banks, and a restoration of the power that they formerly possessed of issuing a circulating currency without any supervision or safeguards upon the part of the government and without any protection to the people, except such as may be provided for by the Legislatures of the different States. In my opinion, this system would no sooner go into operation than there would close in upon us a night of financial anarchy that would wreck and convulse the whole fabric of our institutions. It is all very

well to say, we have no right to be guided by the experience of the past. Why not? It is said that the States would not dare to repeat the history of that period and that they would adopt plans of safety and control over the currency which were not in existence at that time. I deny all this. One State might do it. A number of States might do it. New York, Massachusetts and other States attempted it before; but that every State in the Union would provide for the creation of a currency that would be perfectly good the whole country over is a proposition that has no foundation except in the imagination of gentlemen who have more confidence than I have in the wisdom and capacity of the different States to honestly deal with this question. With great respect to them, I will not trust the Legislature of one State to provide a system of bank circulation for another State. This is what it means exactly, because the currency that a State issues, unless it is perfectly worthless, will be expected to pass current in other States beyond the borders of its issue. I want to be plain about this. I will come to the political features in a moment. I am unwilling to trust the Legislature of any State with chartered banking privileges that include the issuing and circulation of money, and I am unwilling to trust the people of any State with free banking institutions. Do not understand for a moment that I am impugning the common honesty of the people or their representatives, but what I know and feel is that when you once start this revolution, the flood gates will be open, the barriers will be down, and a tide of inflation will sweep through this land that will

inundate every landmark that has been reared by the hand of toil upon the path of honor and integrity.

From the point of view of the people's welfare, I can conceive of nothing worse than the mutilation of a currency that is honest, that is absolutely removed from peril and that is indestructible, and the substitution of a currency that will be reluctantly accepted in every counting room, that will become the plaything of every speculator, that will rise and fall with the feverish quotations of the stock market, that by the constitution is not a legal tender, that carries upon its face the emblem and remembrance of bankruptcy, that the farther it travels the lower it falls and the worse it becomes, until buffeted and rejected from place to place it finally returns to the vaults from which it sprang and completes the circuit of its repudiation.

You tell me that history is no guide, but I ask you to look with me just for a moment at the experience of the past, and tell me whether you will take the slightest risk of its repetition.

Let us inquire into the history of State banking in a few of the larger States. That will suffice I think. In 1855, in the State of Ohio, there were fifty-one of these banks in operation with a capital of about six millions of dollars; in 1856, thirty-six of them had failed, their notes being entirely worthless, and eighteen of them were in process of liquidation. In 1856, of ninety-four free banks in operation in the State of Indiana, fifty had suspended payment and their notes were offered in the market at twenty-five cents upon the dollar. In 1854, twenty-seven of the Kentucky banks failed, creditors, depositors,

note-holders and stock-holders involved in common ruin, and sinking almost every dollar of their investment. In Tennessee, disaster followed the operations of the State bank to such an extent that Gen. Jackson denounced the provisions of the law under which it was organized in a memorial to the Legislature of the State. In Mississippi, the failure of the Union Bank with a capital of over fifteen millions of dollars and with suspended debts, and unavailable assets of over thirteen millions, was the cause of widespread suffering and misfortune. In Pennsylvania, fifteen out of thirty-seven banks that had been chartered, failed within five years from the time of their organization, and so on through the list, so that in one year when the banking capital of the country amounted to about three hundred millions of dollars, the failures represented more than one-fifth of it, and in nearly every instance the whole capital invested in these organizations was wholly lost. This is history: not the history of a day but of a period of financial repudiation, when the country was deluged with an unlimited paper currency and the signal of distress waved over almost every moneyed institution in the land.

THE LAW OF THE CASE.

But it is said that the States have a right to organize their own banks, and that the federal government has no right by an indirect exercise of the taxing power to deprive them of one of their most important functions. This brings us to the law of the case. I am very frank

to confess that upon general principles, I am opposed to the federal government exercising the power of taxation in any case for the purposes of destruction and not for the purposes of revenue. For this reason, at the last session of Congress, I voted against the bill known as the Anti-option Bill, which imposed a tax upon all sales of agricultural products where there was no intention to deliver, and which tax was imposed not for the purpose of revenue, but for the purpose of destroying the business of dealing in options.

It is proper to state in this connection that a number of prominent gentlemen upon this floor, about whose democracy there can be no question, and who take great pride in belonging to the school of strict constructionists of the Constitution, voted for and strongly urged the imposition of this tax, and the imposition of it in face of the concession that it was not imposed for the purpose of revenue, and that there was no power, except the power of taxation in the Constitution, from which Congress could derive any authority to deal with the subject matter of that Bill. I merely refer to this to show that I am not to be chided or taunted with undemocratic tendencies by distinguished gentlemen who are on record for voting for perhaps the most undemocratic measure that ever made its appearance upon this floor.

In the case that is now before us, we have a clear power in the Constitution, which can be invoked, and which was invoked in the celebrated decision of the Veazie bank case, to sustain the right to tax the circulation of the State banks. Chief Justice Chase, in delivering the opinion

of the Court in that case, said: "Having then in the exercise of undisputed constitutional powers undertaken to provide a currency for the whole country, it cannot be questioned that Congress may constitutionally secure the benefit of it to the people by appropriate legislation. To this end, Congress has denied the quality of legal tender to foreign coins, and has provided by law against the imposition of counterfeit and base coin on the community. To the same end, Congress may restrain by suitable enactments the circulation as money of any notes not issued under its own authority. Without this power, indeed, these attempts to secure a sound and uniform currency for the country, must be futile."

Now, I will define to you what my democracy is upon this subject. I do not believe that the federal government should under any pretense exercise any power not clearly provided for in its organic charter. I would guard with jealous vigilance the reserved rights of sovereign states. Their power should not be usurped; their province should not be invaded, and their jurisdiction should not be encroached upon in any case where there is not a paramount provision of federal functions expressly delegated to the government by the constitution; on the other hand, wherever there is an undoubted power vested in Congress, and the exercise of it becomes necessary to protect the interest of the people, or maintain the integrity of our institutions, I would not hesitate to put it into force to the full limit of its operation. Upon the subject that is now under discussion, we find in the Constitution that Congress had an express power to coin money and regu-

late the value thereof. We further find that in the same instrument it is provided that no State shall coin money, that no State shall emit bills of credit, and that no State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.

Now, leaving out of consideration that portion of the decision that I have referred to, which holds that a tax can be levied for the purposes of destruction and not for the purpose of revenue, if the question was at present before us, whether Congress had the right to provide for a uniform system of currency and to legislate against the circulation as money of any note not issued under its authority, I have no hesitation, standing upon a strict construction of the constitution, in giving my entire assent to that other portion of the opinion of the Chief Justice which I have quoted, and in which he holds that Congress has the undoubted power to exercise this authority, and as a democrat trained in the strictest school of constitutional construction, and standing upon the letter of the law, if a bill was now before us to provide a national currency which should be good the whole country over, secured by the credit of the United States, and of equal stability in every commonwealth, and to prohibit the issue of any other money except under the authority of Congress, I would have no more hesitation in voting for such a measure upon constitutional grounds, than I would in voting for a bill to borrow money upon the credit of the United States, to regulate commerce between the States, quarantine the coast against the approach of pestilence or to protect our borders from the invasion of a foreign foe.

OBJECTIONS THAT ARE URGED AGAINST THE
NATIONAL BANKS.

Leaving now the history and the principles that apply to State bank organization, let us come to the National Banking System and examine some of the objections that are urged against it. First, it is claimed that it is a monopoly. In what way is it a monopoly? I would like to know. The legislative State bank charters were generally monopolies granted through the influence of lobbies that infested the halls of legislation, but the privileges of our national banking law are open to all who will comply with its requirements. This charge of monopoly has been so persistently urged, that people have taken it for granted without inquiring into it. Instead of its being an exclusive or even a valuable franchise, we know that a number of banks have refused to take advantage of the right to issue notes, because with the high price of bonds, the restriction upon the amount of circulation and the tax upon the notes, there is no profit in the transaction, and millions of dollars of circulation have been voluntarily surrendered. In almost every other country banking is a monopoly. In England the privilege of issuing circulation is only open to a limited number of banks in addition to the Bank of England; in Scotland only eleven banks have the right to issue notes, and in France the government bank is the only one that supplies the circulation of the country.

Then again it is charged that the national bank currency is not elastic. What do we mean by an elastic

currency? One popular definition of elasticity is that there ought to be plenty of money at all times, that money ought to be as cheap as possible, and that there ought to be such an equality of distribution as could not possibly exist under a system that requires the pledge of security for every note and makes it immediately convertible and redeemable from the moment that it is placed in the channels of circulation. This definition of elasticity is of course rejected by every financier who understands the rudiments of his profession, and by every school of political economists entitled to credit or respect. The other definition of elasticity, which I accept, is that money should be co-extensive with the necessities of trade; that it should expand with moving crops and with the legitimate demands of commerce, and should contract when there is no call for it except in the markets of the gambler and upon the field of speculation. This is the sort of elasticity we want, no more no less, and the nearer we approach to it the closer we arrive at a perfect system of banking and of finance. This is the great standard that every good financial system of the world has attempted to reach; the process is full of difficulties and embarrassments, and there is no end to the schemes that inventive genius has devised to meet the emergency. Every scheme of banking old and new, is an attempt to gratify these requirements. We see it illustrated in the early history of the Bank of St. George at Genoa, in the original charter granted during the reign of William and Mary to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, in the successful efforts of the Bank of Amsterdam, which,

although bankrupt during half a century, nevertheless, for the whole of that period, continued its business and maintained its credit; in the organization of the Bank of North America by Robert Morris, and in the subsequent struggle of the Second Bank of the United States, which was compelled to take refuge under a Pennsylvania charter, when it found that it could not accomplish the purpose of its existence, namely, the regulation of the paper circulation of the country.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

When we leave these systematic attempts to create a currency that complies with the conditions that I have stated, we come to the system which is now in vogue. That it has had a most peculiar history, I admit. I suppose that when the Secretary of the Treasury, in December, 1861, for the purpose of obtaining the means to carry on the war, suggested the issue of national bank notes secured by a pledge of United States Bonds, that he had as much conception of the enormous development of the system that he was creating, as Benjamin Franklin had of the future uses of electricity when he made the brilliant discovery of the identity of lightning with the electric fluid. This system was brought into being, I admit, under the throes and convulsions of civil war. It was invented for the purpose mainly of raising money, and not of supplying a currency to the country. It was founded upon an emergency and was a device and expe-

dient adopted in times of great public necessity. But all this is no argument against it, if it has answered purposes not originally contemplated for it, and has grown beyond its early environments and proportions. This is the history of every great system and discovery, financial and scientific. You tell me that it is founded upon a national debt, and that when the debt expires, the system ought to die with it; but I tell you that this is a mere sentiment, and that if the system answers the purpose better than any other that can now be devised, it should be perpetuated utterly regardless of the manner in which it was created, or of the origin of its birth, and that in the main, with all its faults and imperfections, it is the best system that we have ever had in this land and a better system than any other country has ever adopted, I earnestly believe, and am prepared to substantiate. It is the greatest and the best scheme for uniformity, for stability and for honesty ever devised by the genius of man. Examine the history of banking from its inception and realizing that in every generation hundreds of minds have been at work in the laboratory of finance, endeavoring to evolve some scheme that would supply mankind with a medium of exchange that would operate as an equilibrium of values, point me, if you can, to any system which, in times of financial depression and distress, has withstood more irresistibly than ours the elements of decay and the violence of the storm. It is full of faults and defects, I know; the currency that it issues is not as flexible as the requirements of the country demand. It has centres of circulation while it is deficient in centres of redemption,

and while the citadel within which it is intrenched is impregnable, the bulwark that fortifies it is a disintegrating national debt, the duration of which the people appear unwilling to extend. These are its vices, but when we balance them against its virtues, when we know that of all the hundreds of millions of notes issued for over a quarter of a century throughout every commonwealth of the Union, not a dollar has ever gone to protest in the hands of a holder, and never can go to protest so long as the solvency of the Republic is maintained:—when we know that a note issued anywhere within our domain is good from ocean to ocean, and as it journeys four thousand miles from the home of its creation is never for a moment dishonored at any place where it is tendered; when we know that while there is no compulsion upon the part of the people to take these notes, and they are not a legal tender in payment of debts, the creditor with eager hands has always received them in liquidation of his claims, and above all this, when we feel that they are sustained by the inviolate pledge of the greatest government of the world, whose promise is its fulfillment, whose engagements are never broken, whose credit is sought for in every market, and whose commercial honor is as priceless as its liberty and as unsullied as its flag, I tell you that I would never exchange a currency of this sort for a currency that has nothing behind it except the faltering credit of individuals, that can be issued without limit, that is blurred with suspicion wherever it goes, that comes down upon values like an avalanche to destroy them, and though emanating from the grant and the franchises of a State, carries neither the

seal nor the credentials of its sponsor, but upon its own faith, without proof of its legitimacy, goes begging from door to door, destroying confidence and spreading heresy wherever it strolls in search for recognition.

THE REMEDY.

Now the conclusions that I have reached upon this subject are as far as possible to remedy the defects of the national banking system, and not to create any other system that would conflict with it or undermine it. I would have a currency that is flexible, and I would so mould it that it would accomplish all the purposes that State banks could possibly accomplish, and would be without their inherent vices. What is there in a name, if a national bank currency answers all the purposes that we demand? What are, then, the defects that I would remedy?

In the first place, I would permit the national banks to issue their notes to the full amount of their bonds. There is no reason why this should not be done, and it will increase the currency to that extent.

In the next place, I would repeal the tax upon the circulation of their notes. This should also be done, and would be a benefit to the circulation of the country.

In the next place, I would release the stockholders from all personal responsibility for debts. I never have believed that a stockholder who pays for his stock should remain under any further obligation to the creditors of the bank. This change would induce per-

sons to interest themselves in organizing banks, while the present feature deters and intimidates them. Creditors and depositors should look to the assets of the institution that they trust, and as the circulating notes of the bank are at all times perfectly secure, there is no reason why the creditors of a banking institution should have any greater rights or remedies than those of any other corporation. This change would be largely in aid of the flexibility and elasticity of the system. I know it has been suggested that the very opposite course is the proper one to adopt to give elasticity to the notes; and we have been asked to adopt the system that was in vogue in the banks of Scotland; in other words, it has been suggested that we cannot have an elastic system so long as we exact security, but that with the unlimited personal liability of the stockholders, money could be issued to an unlimited extent to contract and expand as necessity requires. I do not agree with this theory, however, and influenced to a large extent by the disastrous failure of the Bank of Glasgow and other institutions, and the ruin and destruction that swept down upon the innocent stockholders of these banks, I am utterly opposed to any liability whatever upon any stockholder beyond the payment in full of the stock to which he has subscribed.

In the next place, I would give the banks the discretion, under proper restrictions, and upon deposit of additional security, to increase their circulation immediately whenever the demand exists for an increased supply of money. This is the system that now prevails in a number of the

banks upon the continent of Europe, especially with the banks in Germany, and it is deserving of the closest imitation. There is no reason why this should not be done, and it will enable the banks to send out a currency when it is needed, and with local branches throughout the Union, it will afford them centres of redemption for the currency to come in when there is no further demand for it.

In the next place, when the government bonds mature, should it be deemed advisable not to renew the same, I would perpetuate the national banking system based upon a deposit of State and municipal securities to be approved of by the Comptroller of the currency. This will do away with the necessity of continuing the national debt.

I know that these suggestions will meet with serious opposition, but all I ask of you is not to reject them without careful examination. It is a small task for the Comptroller of the Treasury to keep his department constantly informed about the value of the securities that are deposited with him, and in case of a decline, he should be given the power at all times to call for additional collaterals. Besides this, state and municipal bonds afford the very best sort of collateral, and there is no reason why they should not be taken as a basis for circulation.

I believe that if these propositions, or others substantially similar to them, based upon the necessity of a flexible currency, and of an increased circulation, are adopted, that for all times to come there will be plenty of banks, and plenty of money to supply the requirements of the people.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

These are my views briefly stated upon the subject of our currency, and there is only one more suggestion now that it is necessary for me to notice before I conclude, and that is the pledge in the Democratic platform to repeal the tax upon the State bank circulation. There is no doubt about this pledge, I admit. While there was a great conflict of opinion as to the meaning of the promise to repeal the Sherman Bill, it cannot be claimed that there is any ambiguity about this clause in the least. It is as concise and as explicit as language can make it. How it ever crawled into the platform without discussion or consultation, is one of those mysteries that is not vouchsafed to those of us who did not participate in the convention to divine. So far as I am concerned, the convention might with equal propriety have pledged me to vote for the repeal of the ten commandments. I know not how it may be with others, but with me, the time has not yet arrived when I have surrendered my conscience and my convictions to the keeping of a political convention. I utterly deny that it lies within the province or the jurisdiction of a convention to trammel me in the discharge of my duties by any such a declaration as this, and during the canvass in half a dozen different States, upon every hustings, I announced my unalterable opposition to this plank in the platform with the approval of almost every democrat whom I had the honor of addressing.

Suppose that the convention should have declared in favor of the tax imposed by the Anti-option Bill, as it

was attempted to do, would I have been compelled to vote for this tax? Suppose it should have declared in favor of the Bankrupt Bill, would the democracy of the South have supported it? This Bill to repeal the tax upon State bank circulation failed to pass at the last Congress in a Democratic House, and now I am told that because some one slipped these words into the platform, that I am to be manacled like a slave and robbed of the greatest boon that a freeman in these halls can claim, and that is the right to vote upon questions of public policy in accordance with the dictates of duty that it lies not within the power of any man or set of men to shackle or to trample upon.

I concede the right of the convention to bind the party upon political issues. The tariff is a political issue; we are united upon that. The repeal of the federal election laws is a political issue; we are united upon that, but we are divided upon questions of finance. A large number of democrats upon this floor are not in favor of the repeal of this tax, and I utterly deny the power of the convention to force us to vote against our convictions upon a subject not within its jurisdiction. I hope to see the day when the great question of finance shall be taken out of politics. It does not really belong there. Politicians are not qualified to deal with it. If a platform is to be formed upon this subject, let the people write it. The people have certain rights that no convention can deprive them of, and when they assert these rights, are mightier than all the machinery of your conventions. They require no field marshal to direct them, and they move with no uncertain step. I believe that a great revolution is

taking place in the history of American politics. The people are taking a hand in it. They are tired of being controlled and disciplined as if they were a body of raw militia instead of an army of regulars, before whose relentless march bad measures and bad policies have been put to flight, just as beneath their iron heel bad men and bad nominations have been prostrated and trampled upon.

The best platform that we can construct is the record that we shall make. When we enter upon the next canvass we will not be asked, "What is your platform," but "What is your record?" The adage, "I am a democrat," will give away to the interrogatory, "What sort of a democrat are you?" The rising generation is a generation of intelligence; they have been asked by political leaders over and over again to take a part in politics, and now they are doing it. From the ranks of educated labor, from your colleges and universities, they come with thoughtful ballots, with free ballots, and with ballots that are not for sale. They understand these questions just as well as we do, and if we decide them wrong, they will decide them right. It is a great ordeal through which political parties are passing, and if upon these all-important questions of finance and economy we will only remain steadfast, and refuse to veer with every breeze, and trim our sails with every passing wind, I have no fear whatever for the safety of our party; it will weather the gale as defiantly as it has withstood the storms of a century. It may be necessary to jetison a part of the cargo, but armed and equipped with the manhood, the courage and the honor of the nation, the Ship of State is safe.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE CONCORDIA OPERA HOUSE,
TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 21, 1889.

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens :

I PRESUME that I ought to give an explanation for my presence here to-night. Since the final adjournment of the Fiftieth Congress I have been kindly invited from time to time to deliver addresses in the different counties of the State upon the political issues of the day. These requests, coming in the manner and from the sources they did, indicated to me that this was an opportune time to assemble and take a survey of the party's situation from a national and local point of view, and that the first effort so to do should be made in this city. I, therefore, come to you to-night entirely of my own accord and not in the capacity of an emissary or a spokesman from any source or quarter. I come in my own way to talk to you of Democracy in the nation and at home. I do not propose, however, to travel a beaten path and treat this subject historically.

History is principally of value to us when it serves as a guidance for future action. A mere knowledge of what

has taken place in the past can only be useful and practical either to nations or to parties or to individuals when they derive instruction from it and are influenced in their policy or conduct by the events that it records. The history of the Democratic party, like the history of other great parties, will always be studied and cherished with interest, but a party cannot live upon its history, and while we may point with pride to its traditions and achievements, the great question that concerns us all is not so much as to what the Democratic party has accomplished in the past, but rather what it proposes to do in the future. In order to discuss what a party proposes to do, it is of course essential that we should refer to its record and to the principles which it has consistently maintained, and be duly impressed with the fundamental doctrines that have characterized its career. The subject to which I invite your attention to-night is

“THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.”

It has been said that there is no Democratic party; that the lines that formerly separated the parties have converged, and that the issues have become indistinct to such an extent that it would be difficult for any one to plainly define the meaning of the word democrat or republican, or to describe the particulars in which the one differs from the other. It is not at all strange that we should hear the proposition repeated very frequently by intelligent and well-informed persons that there is scarcely any difference between the parties, and that

whether a man is a Democrat or Republican now is merely a choice of names and not of principles, nor is it difficult to trace the causes that give rise to this opinion. People not engaged in politics have time and time again witnessed the fiercest conflicts for party supremacy, and when they were over the only result that they observed as visible to the naked eye was that the triumphant party claimed the official patronage, and the defeated party gracefully surrendered it as so much booty that belonged to the victor as a trophy of war and as a reward for party loyalty.

In other words, looking at caucus nominations, the assembling of conventions, the machinery of organization and election, and at everything that attends and surrounds a political struggle, a great many persons have arrived at the conviction that all this involves very little principle; that while it might involve a line of temporary party policy, that the principal things that it really involves are the fortunes and ambition of those who are actively engaged in the contest. Now, I take the liberty of asserting that these are surface indications, merely upon the tide, and that if we want to find true conditions we must fathom deeper, and the deeper we sound the more we will realize that we have been deceived by appearances, and that there are issues and principles plainly drawn and well defined that separate the parties—issues that are growing instead of diminishing, broadening instead of narrowing; principles that occupy no common ground, and that are almost as widely divergent in the influences they exert upon the

destiny of the nation as they were in the days when the Republican party was the Federalist party, led by Hamilton and Knox, and the Democratic party was the Republican party, led by Jefferson and Randolph. It is not correct to conclude that because issues have changed that party lines have become obliterated, and it is safe to predict that situated as we are, parties will continue to exist until the people of every Commonwealth agree upon a permanent plan of State and national policy, which is hardly within the realms of probability, though it might be a "consummation devoutly to be wished for." Now, what is the Democratic party? What forms the rock upon which it rests? What are its principles? What is its policy? In what respect does it differ from other parties, and upon what does it base its hopes for the future?

THE GOVERNMENT MUST DISSOLVE ITS PARTNERSHIP WITH MONOPOLY.

First and foremost, planted upon its colors in indelible letters is its historic emblem that this is a government of the people. A government of the masses and not of the classes, a government of enumerated powers, and that there is no authority or sanction in the Federal constitution to impose upon the people of this Union any tribute or burden that is not necessary to carry out the purposes of government honestly and economically administered. The Republican party is the party of the classes and not of the masses; upon its banners formerly in indistinct

character, but now in blazing letters so plain that those who run can read is its shibboleth of "Protection to the American Monopolist" and taxation upon the *whole* American people to foster and enrich the interests and enterprises of the *particular* sections and localities that furnish the resources for Republican success. This is as concisely as I can state this issue in its practical bearings and effect. It has been said that this issue was fairly presented to the people, and that we were defeated upon it. This I deny, because the Republican party instead of enlightening and educating the people upon the subject, appealed by falsehood and intimidation to their prejudices and their ignorance. But even if it were so, far better, my friends, is an honorable defeat in an honorable cause than a corrupt victory by dishonorable means. If defeated we were upon this principle, in the same unlawful way we may be defeated again, but we will keep on raising aloft our fallen standard until we shall conquer before the integrity and intelligence of the country. You cannot suppress it; it is a principle that will not retreat and will not surrender; it must be met upon the field, and there, perhaps, mercenaries may be employed to overpower it, but with renewed strength it will rally again and challenge corruption to battle until it eventually prevails. If, however, we stand upon this rock with faltering footstep, ready to abandon it for some convenient ambush, where the enemy cannot see us, and from which we may conduct a guerrilla warfare, we might as well take to the quicksands, for the party will never find another rock that will not disintegrate beneath its touch. It has been intimated

that the heroic message of President Cleveland was the cause of our defeat. There is not, in my humble opinion, a word of truth in this. If the President had never written a line of his message, and if the Democratic party in Congress had only reduced a single duty upon a solitary article in the schedules that might have curtailed the profits of some Republican monopoly, the feigned and pretended issue would have been raised that we were attempting to destroy American industries and reduce the wages of American labor.

It is not entirely an economic question whether the duty shall be raised upon this article or lowered upon that; it is largely a political and constitutional one whether with an overflowing treasury this government has the right or power to levy taxes beyond the limit of its necessary expenses and obligations. We claim that it has not, and if we expect to have a future we must take an unswerving stand against a policy that proposes to place a galling yoke around the necks of freemen and lead them to the shambles to be sacrificed in the interest of combines of centralized wealth, who for a quarter of a century have been gathering their toll at the ports of entry of this republic.

The Republican party insists that it has the constitutional right to strain and pervert the taxing power in order to protect what it calls the home market against foreign competition, and to enrich the producers and manufacturers who control the supply at the expense of the people who consume the product. This issue is neither dead nor sleeping. Shadows have crossed its path, and

for a time it went down in darkness, but public opinion will rekindle it and keep its fires burning. Public opinion moves slowly and cautiously ; it advances with measured steps, but when it does resolve it is no coward, and when it strikes it is with fearless determination. It is with us upon this issue. The day will come when the people will tear the mask from those who have robbed them, and the truth will be revealed. They will demand a return of the plunder. They will demand that the government must dissolve its copartnership with monopoly, and that they will no longer supply the profits to the firm ; they will demand that American ports shall be opened for the commerce of mankind as God intended they should be ; they will march towards the citadel within which the Blaines and the Quays and the Wanamakers lie entrenched, and I earnestly believe that if we maintain the courage of our convictions the citadel will be stormed, and upon its ruins, by the intelligent suffrages of our countrymen, we will again be called upon to shape and guide the destiny of the republic.

CONGRESS HAS NO RIGHT OR POWER TO RECONSTRUCT LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE SOUTH.

The next issue of almost equal importance with the first relates to the reserved power of the States. The Democratic party pledges its full obedience to every article and amendment of the Federal constitution, and to every law of Congress passed in pursuance of the powers derived therefrom. We claim that the power

of Congress to legislate upon the subject of the elective franchise should not be exercised unless there is either a violation by the State of some provision of the Federal constitution or a failure to comply with it. The Republican party claims the right to invade the jurisdiction of the States, to decide for itself whether the laws of a particular State are in conformity with the constitution, and to legislate in accordance with its construction and decision. We believe that only when the laws of a State discriminate as to race, color or condition, that Congress has the constitutional right to interfere. The Republican party claims that Congress has the right to determine upon the question of discrimination, and to determine upon it, not by interpreting the laws as they exist, but by the results of the election in a given case or in a particular locality. If, for instance, the election laws of South Carolina are valid, and not obnoxious to any provision of the Federal constitution, and properly executed under the authority of the State, we claim that Congress has no right to annul them. The Republican party insists that if, in a particular congressional district comprising more colored voters than it does white voters, a Republican Congressman is not returned, that this fact is evidence of discrimination; that Congress ought to pass laws to govern the case, to override the statutes of the State; to take hold of its election machinery; to reconstruct its local government, and to bring the suffrages of its citizens under the supervision of the Federal authority. This means the restoration of carpet-bag

rule, the overthrow of local institutions, the prostitution of the courts, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and negro representation upon the floor of Congress for the constituencies of a large number of Southern States. It is all very well for the President to announce that he has no policy upon this subject, and that Congress will have to supply the country with one. What he ought to have said is that he would not approve of any sectional policy by Congress, knowing as he does that the fight is on hand under the Hoar and Chandler resolutions, and that the determination of his party is that wherever they cannot exercise the power that I have spoken of constitutionally, that then by the rule of the majority they will unseat every Southern Democrat whose district is in the condition that I have referred to. This is not a sentiment, this is a "condition that confronts us," and I may be pardoned, if I say so, that my blood rises to a fever heat when I reflect that this district has not at least some Democratic representative who will arise upon the floor and in unmeasured terms protest against the perpetration of this infamy. As a rule, the colored constituencies of the South are satisfied with their present representatives. Their interests and prosperity are so closely allied with the white race that they prefer the representation they now have to a representation by political vagrants, as they once had, who care nothing for them except to use them as a stepping-stone to place and power. Numbers of them do vote and would continue to vote for Democratic representatives, but the Republican party, in the fanaticism and blind

bigotry that distinguishes it, will not understand or believe that this can possibly be the case. Their idea is that the slave was emancipated in order to become a political chattel, that politically he belongs to them, that he must vote out his ransom, that he has no right to make an intellectual selection, and that he ought to be disciplined and educated to believe that the white man of the South is his mortal foe, prepared to return him to bondage whenever the opportunity occurs; and that his only plan of safety and escape is to separate himself from his surroundings and unite with the extremists of New England in again fanning the flames of sectional hatred and prejudice. This is the sort of education they believe the negro ought to receive. We may talk about reconciliation, and there is reconciliation among the people, but the typical Republican politician, the Chandlers and the Ingalls of the North and West, detest the South and its people as much as they ever did, and from what I have seen and heard, their rancor and malignity in that regard has not abated in the slightest degree.

Now what is to be done and what will be done about this? My opinion is that the Democracy of the Union will take a decided stand upon this issue. Their forces will be marshaled upon the floor of Congress, and the Republican party will be made to understand that the powers of the constitution shall not be strained; that local self-government must be maintained and respected in South Carolina as well as it is in Massachusetts, and that no Southern representative, who has been fairly elected in accordance with the laws of his State, shall be deprived

of the right to represent his people. This can be done if there is unity of action, and rather than yield a fragment of this principle it were better to put the clog-wheels upon legislation, because the liberty of the people, the rights of the States, the safeguards of the constitution are the most valuable franchises we possess; if we yield them, the Democratic party surrenders its birthright; the autonomy of the States will become impaired, and centralization will eventually usurp the place of a government of enumerated powers. I say it in no spirit of disparagement, because the representative from the sixth district is my warm personal friend, and I certainly harbor not the slightest unkind feeling against the gentleman who succeeds me; but is it not a burning shame that Maryland, a Democratic State, should send two, if not perhaps three, representatives to the halls of Congress, who, upon this as well as upon all other kindred issues, will join hands with the Republican party to oppress our sister Commonwealths, as we were once oppressed in the days when that party deprived us of our suffrages, and with an iron heel trampled upon the elective franchise and every other political privilege guaranteed to us not only in the organic law of our Commonwealth, but in the covenant our fathers made, and for the perpetuation of which they hazarded their fortunes, their liberties, and their lives.

THE CIVIL SERVICE LAW.

I want to direct your attention to another subject of the utmost importance in connection with the future of the Democratic party. In the first year of the present

century, Thomas Jefferson proclaimed "No man who has conducted himself according to his duties will have anything to fear from me, as those who have done ill will have nothing to hope, be their political principles what they might." Three-quarters of a century thereafter, the greatest statesman of his day, the lamented Tilden, gave expression to this sentiment. "One evil that infests the official service of the government is the prevalent and demoralizing notion that the public service exists not for the business and benefit of the whole people, but for the interest of the office-holders, who are in truth but the servants of the people. The ordinary employment of the public business ought not to be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, a reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ." Six years after this, the "Pendleton" bill was passed, receiving the support of the most distinguished Democrats in Congress. Within two years from that time, Mr. Cleveland, with a record in favor of civil service reform that left no doubt about his views, still, in order to emphasize them to his countrymen, took again occasion to announce his convictions in the most decisive and unequivocal terms.

Now the question is, shall we retreat from this position? Are competency and integrity to be the passports to office, or shall a successful party, like a victorious army, planting upon its banners the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," storm and ransack the business departments of the country and divide its offices as so much booty captured from a fallen foe? Shall the gov-

ernment be run as a political machine for the benefit of a party, or shall it be conducted for the benefit of the people, upon principles that exact the most faithful service that can possibly be procured, irrespective of the political sentiments or influence of those who are to perform them? It strikes me that but one reply will come from the people, if this subject is understood and studied. Do not fall into the common error of supposing that the civil-service law contemplates any interference with the policy of a political party, or proposes to hamper the administration in the selection, as its advisers, of persons in political sympathy with it. What it embraces is the business departments of the government's service. Now I ask you to go into the model room of the Patent Department, into the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, into the clerical branches of the treasury service, or into any other public place where intelligence and experience qualify a man for the performance of the duties that are required of him, and tell me whether it is not better that a man thus employed should not be expected to perform any other services besides those he is paid to perform, that he should be made to feel that he can devote his whole time to his employment, and is it not wrong in principle and wrong in policy to exact of him as a condition precedent to his appointment that he must have rendered other work which has no connection whatever with the service that he is engaged in? Do we stand by the Draconian political code of Marcy, or with the school of the new Democracy, the enlightened statesmanship of Tilden and of Cleveland? This subject is of vast importance and far-reaching

in its results. I cannot go into details to-night, as I will take occasion to do hereafter; in my opinion the future stability of our institutions depends to a large extent upon our maintaining substantially intact the principles of the civil-service law, and I believe that an abandonment of that system now is a step backwards towards dishonesty and corruption.

There is one more branch of this matter that I desire to refer to in this connection. One of the most important provisions of the law is the section that prohibits Congressmen from exerting their influence for any applicant for office in the classified service beyond recommending as to character. There is no doubt about the meaning and intention of this clause. It deals with a great and growing evil, and it strikes at the root of one of the worst abuses that pervades the walks of official life at the present day.

What does the mere recommendation of a Congressman amount to now? If the whole Congress of the United States assembled were to certify to the character of an applicant I am quite sure it would not be of the slightest benefit to him. Why is this? Because the heads of the departments know how easy it is to obtain certificates of this kind, and how rarely they are refused. There is not an hour in the day that these perfunctory indorsements do not go to protest, and the autographs of the most distinguished men in the councils of the nation are resigned to the waste-baskets of the departments. If the recommendation of a Senator or Representative really meant what it purports to mean, as intended by the

framers of the civil-service law, this condition of affairs would not exist. If the departments realized that when a Representative gave a certificate of character, he did it not by reason of the rush for office and his willingness to sign almost anything to escape from the importunities of those who seek it, but that he did it with the full sense of his responsibility for the qualification of the applicant, he would be extremely cautious not to give it except in the most deserving cases, and such a certificate so given would be the highest token and testimonial of his merit that the applicant could convey to the appointing power.

I shall conclude what I propose to say upon this branch of the subject by suggesting that after twenty-four years of exile the Democratic party came into power under the leadership of a man who lowered the banner upon which was inscribed "To the victors belong the spoils" carefully folded it, and in its place raised aloft the ensign upon which was inscribed the motto "A public office is a public trust." By that sign we conquered; we can safely follow it again, because wherever it is recognized it will bring converts into our ranks from the honest and intelligent masses of the people.

SHALL THE VAULTS OF THE TREASURY BE OPENED TO THE PUBLIC PLUNDERER.

There is another important issue to which I invite your consideration. The Democratic party is opposed to spending the people's money for the benefit of particular interests and sections that will not inure to the benefit

of the whole country. It is opposed to dissipating the money in the treasury in order to pay subsidies and bounties and grants that will enrich individuals at the expense of impoverishing the people. The Republican party has always believed in a contrary doctrine; they say, give us a subsidized commerce, give us a subsidized merchant-marine, give us anything and everything to deplete the fund that has been stolen from the people's earnings, so that, as the plunder comes into the treasury year after year, the combines and the syndicates may divide it, who, in return therefor, will contribute with a liberal hand towards Republican success. The Democratic party is in favor of an American policy, and of an American navy, and of an American merchant-marine. It is in favor of building a navy in accordance with the policy of Secretary Whitney, and not in accordance with the policy of Secretary Robeson. It is in favor of building a merchant-marine by first creating the commerce for the ships to carry, and it announces as an American policy that American ships to be used by private interests shall not be built by the hand of the subsidists with government money. This is sound Democratic doctrine.

I am aware of the fact that a number of leading party men do not agree with me in the conclusion that I have reached upon this matter. They believe that in order to revive our shipping interests large inducements should be held out to American ship-builders, and liberal grants of money should be awarded

to American carriers. After a careful study of this subject, not theoretically, but with the aid of the most practical information that I have been able to procure, I have become convinced that the assertion so often made with glowing emphasis, that commerce will always follow the mails, and that a subsidized mail carrier will eventually become a carrier of freight, is a fable invented in the interest of shipping leagues, and is not borne out either by our own experience or that of any other nation.

In 1861 the tonnage of the United States was nearly as large as the tonnage of all maritime nations combined, with the exception of Great Britain. To-day our flag has disappeared from the ocean, and France, and England, and Germany, and even Austria, with but a single seaport, are monopolizing the commerce of mankind. The suggestion was made in Congress that these countries had subsidized their ships. I took occasion to point to the fact that when it was proposed to subsidize the shipping interests of Germany a united protest arose from every seaport on the North and Baltic seas, and the merchants of Hamburg submitted a remonstrance to the German Parliament that ought to adorn the walls of every chamber of commerce in this country, protesting "that bounties paralyzed individual energy, and endangered and corrupted commercial enterprise." The assertion was made that the British merchant marine was subsidized, and when the representatives who were speaking in the interest of New England docks and ports were asked to point

to an act of Parliament that ever granted a dollar for the employment or construction of a British ship, no answer came, and none ever will come, because there is no such legislation among the records of English history. No, my friends, the true American policy is to open our gates, lower our tolls, manumit our commerce, and repeal an infamous system of navigation laws that forbid us from acquiring ships as other nations are acquiring them; laws that are a re-enactment of an English statute passed nearly five hundred years ago, and which find no place now in the marine code of any civilized country on this earth. I do not believe in artificial stimulation by subsidies; it is a galvanic process. The true system is when we enter foreign ports to take down the pirate's flag which proclaims that we will give no quarter to the nations of the earth, and to announce that we will trade with them on equal terms. If we do this the day will come when Southern, as well as Northern docks, will teem with a merchant marine manned as in the days of old by the courage and skill of the American sailor. Upon this question we may take great pride that the Democracy of the House stood in solid line to guard the treasury against every assault and raid that was made upon it by the Republican party to filch from its vaults the people's money in the interest of shipping leagues and of a select assemblage of monopolists, who with one hand are willing to build ships with government money and with the other to place an embargo upon their freight and commerce, without which a

merchant marine is the merest toy that plays upon the waters.

I think I have shown you now that there is a Democratic national party, and that it has a future, and that we are not so confused and commingled with the other side as to have lost our political identity. I come now to the consideration of a question that is of the utmost interest to us all, and that is the future of the Democratic party in Maryland.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN MARYLAND.

The Democratic party in Maryland is in a critical condition. We may say otherwise and deceive ourselves in thinking to the contrary, but the fact still remains that it is. If we deduct the majority in the third congressional district nine hundred votes will cover the majority in the balance of the State at the last election. Our whole majority was about six thousand, so that if three thousand democrats, which is less than twenty in a precinct, vote with our opponents, the party is in peril. I wish that I were mistaken about this, but I thought that I would give you the figures so that you could draw your own inferences. It is all very well to say that we lost a number of votes upon the tariff issue. Even if this were so there are local issues which in all probability may lose us the same number of votes over again. I believe in looking this condition squarely in the face, not to try temporarily to bridge it over, because this perhaps may be done, but in order to adopt some permanent plan that

will bring us back to our moorings and keep this State in accordance with the true sentiment of a large majority of our people safely within the Democratic ranks. It is not the controversies among political factions that should occasion the whole alarm, because sometimes they drift apart very widely and come together very closely afterwards. What ought to concern us is the spirit of discontent and disaffection among the people who are Democrats from principle, who want no political office, and who have no party favors to ask except an honest administration of the party's affairs. We might convene all the warring factions in this city and apportion among them the public perquisites and patronage according to their influence and requirements, but there is a power behind the factions that cannot be purchased and silenced in this way. An earnest protest would go up against any scheme of redemption and deliverance that proposes to save the party by distributing its offices and spoils. This plan of compromise was tried in a neighboring city, and the outcome was the most corrupting state of politics that ever disgraced the pages of our history, a state of politics to which is attributable in a large degree the disaster of our last defeat.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MARYLAND.

I have given you our condition as I think it should be given. What is the condition of our opponents at the present time? Step by step they are advancing upon us. Under the most thorough and continuous discipline they are strengthening their organization in

every precinct of this city. The Republican leaders recognizing the fact that their party in this city can be kept together only by holding out the hope of common plunder, authoritative word has come from Washington that the principal Federal appointments will not be made in Maryland until after the election, and with fifteen thousand colored voters, colonized to a considerable extent, in solid line they present an unbroken front, their objective point being the next Legislature and a Republican Senator from Maryland, while we are rent and torn by factious discord, fighting over spoils that are already within the grasp of the enemy. The Republican party is upon its good behavior now; it always behaves well when it is in the minority and can do no harm. It always clamors for reform when it is out of power; but whenever it is in power and has the opportunity to reform, it yearns for the spoils and patronage with a thirst and an appetite that betoken the days of famine. Where can there be found a more insatiable assemblage of spoilsmen than the Republican politicians of Maryland? They take up their march with the dawn of morning and come down on the administration and the cabinet like the "wolf upon the fold." If they are forced temporarily to retreat they are not in the slightest degree discouraged or dismayed, but they gather up their cohorts and return with the twilight only to resume their sacrifice upon the morrow. Nothing daunts them, no presence deters them, no repulses intimidate them. When there is an office to be stormed, or a government stronghold to be plundered, or a civil-service station to be raided, the Maryland line

advances to the mouth of the departments with the unfaltering step of veterans disciplined to immolate themselves upon the altars of their country. They need not tell us how they expect to reform us, because we know all about it; they have reformed us before. We have a painful recollection of the reforms that they afflicted us with in days gone by, and while we are profoundly grateful to them for the solicitude and anxiety that they feel for our welfare, let us in the meantime watch them so that they will not have another opportunity to reform us again.

As far as I am concerned I would regard the ascendancy of the Republican party in this city as a calamity and misfortune. I am unwilling to join hands with it for any purpose. We can reform ourselves without any help from it. I do not believe in its principles, nor in its narrow-minded and sectional policy, and with the greatest esteem for a large number of its members, I have no faith whatever in its honesty as a party. My brief experience in Congress and my defeat have only tended to strengthen my loyalty to my own party; and inspired with this earnest feeling and conviction I, for one, would be willing to make any sacrifice to save my party in this State.

A PROPOSED REMEDY FOR OUR TROUBLE.

What is the remedy, and what do the people want? Above everything else they want the principle proclaimed that when public offices are to be filled the

best men of the best character should be pressed to the front, and men of no character relegated to the rear. They want a ticket nominated for the Legislature that will command the respect and confidence of the people, men of recognized integrity, who are not pledged to anybody for anything, and who will serve in the interest of the people and for no other purpose. They want the doors thrown open and absolute fairness in the method of election or selection, so that the candidates when chosen will represent the people's will and owe their choice to the people and no one else. And I believe that if a proclamation of this sort is issued in earnest it will thunder through this State and wake up in thousands of hearts the slumbering fires of Democratic loyalty. This is reform from within as distinguished from reform from without; this is a fusion of our political friends instead of a fusion with our political enemies; this involves no sacrifice of party fealty and no sundering of party ties.

It is not necessary to define the methods by which these results are to be accomplished, the character of the result will determine the fairness of the methods. Too much significance cannot be attached to the Legislature. It is of more importance to the people of this State than the Presidency or the Congress of the United States. It more closely affects their interests, and its work strikes deeper home for weal or woe than that which emanates from any other department of the public service. What is required is integrity more than ability. It does not take any great degree of capacity to pass the examination

for Annapolis. Providence in its mercy always sends a few men to legislative bodies who do the work for the balance. *In an assemblage of this sort a man of unflinching integrity is worth any number of shrewd or wise men, because shrewdness and wisdom can sometimes be purchased, but integrity never, because it has nothing for sale.* Now let us do these things, and the breakers ahead of us will calm ; let us neglect them and thwart the people's will, and the storm is coming, and the unfortunate part about it is, that it may strike deep down and uproot the great party that has been so firmly planted upon our soil, that has grown up with our traditions, and around which cluster the fondest memories of the past and the most anxious solicitude for the future. The next Legislature will have a number of important duties to perform, among others the election of a United States Senator. We have upon our statute book a law that the Senator is to be alternately chosen from the Eastern Shore—a law which is recognized to be unconstitutional. I believe that the Senator will come from the Eastern Shore, in conformity to the custom, if not in obedience to the law. Wherever he is to come from, however, Eastern or Western Shore, let it be understood that he is to be the choice of the people, and that the Legislature is to voice its will, for, if there be any one place that by reason of its honor and elevation appeals to the pride of a State to select for it its best and ablest man, that place is the Senate of the United States.

POLITICAL CLUBS—THE HARM AND THE GOOD THAT
THEY CAN ACCOMPLISH.

In this connection I desire to refer to a matter which I think it is proper to comment upon, and that is the organization of political clubs in this city and the injury or benefit that political clubs generally are likely to exert upon the fortunes of the party in whose interest they are formed. They can do a great deal of good and they can do a great deal of harm. In the days of Jefferson they were called Democratic societies, but the Democratic societies of those days were vastly different from the political clubs of the present day. The conditions that gave rise to them were different, because the Democratic party was then in the earliest stages of its development, its principles were being established, and it required constant discussion and agitation to impress their importance upon the minds of the people. I believe the time has gone by when there is any occasion for drilling the people and keeping them like a standing army with their tents pitched under orders and under discipline in a constant state of preparation for the political contests that are incessantly taking place in our midst. The people are becoming tired of this sort of employment, and they have the intelligence and courage that is requisite to meet the issues as they are presented without being compelled to sleep upon their arms in season and out of season, and talk politics around their camp-fires all the year around. This might suit some of us, but I question

the propriety of organizing the whole nation into political clubs and the government into a machine, whose principal duty it shall be to grind out elections with all the speed that the machine can work. We have too many elections now; we are either having one or all the time talking about one that we propose to have. There are at least thirty-five thousand out of the forty thousand Democrats in this city who do not belong to political clubs. On the other hand, the whole Republican party here is a congregation of clubs. They are all united now in the bonds of fraternal love, embracing one another with an affection and devotion that not only awaken our admiration, but almost bring tears to our eyes, because we know how soon the lovers will separate and with what avidity they will cut each other's throats, figuratively speaking, when our beloved President announces that Maryland's turn has come at last, and that the plunder is ready to be served upon the government table. The Republicans always love each other here when there is nothing to eat, but when you talk about sitting at a government table, wait until the bell rings. They will not only sit at it but on it and under it, and civil service reform, gaunt and meagre, will be invited to the benediction, but not a place will be reserved for her, and not a microscopic crumb will she get that falls upon the floor. Now when this feast is over these clubs will all dissolve, because the purpose of their creation has been accomplished. As far as any benefit to the public is concerned, it were far better if

they were never formed, because they are demoralizing in their tendencies, they degrade the political sentiment of the community, and they inculcate no lessons of patriotism or even party loyalty. This is the harm that clubs can do. Now, what good can they do? A great deal, if formed in the proper spirit and kept within proper limits. If we are to have Democratic clubs or societies, let them become the centres for disseminating true Democratic doctrine, where men can be instructed in the school of a pure Democracy by the light and example of the patriots who have illustrated the pages of the party's history; where party feeling can be awakened by an appeal to their intelligence and not to motives of personal gain; where organization can be effected upon the basis of a fealty that is true to the party because it believes in its future and in its capacity to subserve the welfare of the people; where those in the public service can be inspired with an honorable ambition so that they will understand that he who rules must serve, and that he performs his duty best who serves his countrymen most faithfully. These kind of societies will grow and prosper, and may become the citadels and strongholds of the party's strength in the time of the party's danger; while those that subsist upon public patronage may gather in their converts for a while, but as the plunder decreases their ranks will scatter, and instead of being a help to the party in the hour of need, they will become a constant element of discord and weakness.

THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO SELECT THEIR RULERS.

I have often, in the course of my remarks, spoken of the rule of the people. Now I want to be understood that when I speak of the rule of the people, I do not speak of any crusade that has in view the supplanting in power of one faction by another, or the overthrow of one leader and the enthronement of another. What profit will the people derive from any such transaction as that? What I mean by the rule of the people is that this is a government of the people; that all political power is derived from them, and that the idea is not to be tolerated that through any form or process of the machinery of election in any of its stages they can be deprived of the slightest fragment of this the greatest of all the rights that they possess. Liberty to a large extent may exist without this privilege. There are forms of government under which the people are comparatively free without the general power to select those who are to govern them. This is not the case with the American people, however. When our independence was achieved, and the framers of the constitution assembled to construct a form of government, they had no complete model to follow, and they looked in vain to history for an example as their guidance. The work that they finally brought forth was unique in its design, a republic in which every citizen should be a sovereign and every ruler should be a servant and derive every vestige of his power directly or indirectly from those whom he is selected to govern.

Taken as a whole, an original experiment surrounded with difficulties in its conception and execution, but now after the progress of a century the wisdom of the patriots who framed it is attested by the fact that sixty millions of freemen can proclaim to the world that in the selection of their rulers and representatives, and through them upon every question that concerns the nation and the commonwealth to which they belong, their voice must be heard and their suffrage must be respected.

A UNITED DEMOCRACY BASED UPON THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE.

I have concluded now what I desire to say upon this occasion. I want to aid in saving and not destroying the Democratic party of Maryland. If I were called upon to sound a keynote that might produce harmony within our ranks, I would proclaim "A united democracy based upon the rule of the people."

The Democratic party of this city is suffering with no incurable or vital malady. What it requires is an enlargement of the circle of its acquaintances, plenty of sunlight and plenty of society. This is the new school of medicine; this is its diagnosis of the case. Unlock the doors, let the patient out, so that it can take plenty of exercise and mingle freely with the people; let it meet face to face the thronging multitudes of this great city, and you will find that the color will return to its cheeks—the permanent glow of health and not the flush of fever; that the blood will once more thrill through its veins, and that the deadly vapor of the anodynes will leave it.

Let us unite the party not by uniting one faction to another with ropes of sand, but by tying together the party with the indissoluble bonds of Democratic principle and of a Democratic policy acceptable to those upon whose suffrages it depends for success. A leadership that will announce a policy of this sort and honestly pursue it will attract a following that will carry with it the assurance of victory. If this is done, it will no longer be necessary year after year to plead for the party's life, because it will possess the principles that will give it life, and when the hour of conflict comes you will find it, not a sluggard in the rear of the column with drooping colors, but in the van of battle with a flying standard it will proclaim to its enemies that the Democracy of Maryland is united, that its path is a path of honor, that its creed is a creed of patriotism and that its cause is the cause of the people and of every sovereign right that God has given them, and which it lies not in the power of any man to deprive them of.

SPEECH

AGAINST THE FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE OF
SILVER. 52ND CONGRESS.

AN HONEST DOLLAR.

MR. SPEAKER: I shall endeavor, in the remarks that I propose to make upon this subject, to treat this question not from a political or party standpoint, but in as plain and intelligible a manner as I can, to discuss it as an economical and financial problem, whose practical solution is now upon us, and which must be met in a spirit of honesty and patriotism for the best interests of the American people.

HONEST MONEY.

I apprehend that we are all in favor of honest money, that we are not in favor of a depreciated and fluctuating currency, that we want a measure of value that is certain and stable, and not one that is variable and changeable from day to day, and that has different values in the different localities in which it may be employed. An honest man when he owes a dollar is willing to pay a

dollar, and when he gives a dollar's worth of labor or sells a dollar's worth of merchandise, expects to receive a dollar in return. If this dollar, when it is in the shape of a legal tender note, is sustained by the credit of the government, or by an equivalent amount of treasure in the government vault, then the paper dollar is an honest dollar. If it is in the shape of coin, and when melted in the crucible is worth a dollar, then it is also an honest dollar. If, however, the Government has not the means or resources to redeem its paper promises, or if the Government stamps the mark of a dollar upon a piece of bullion that is not worth a dollar, then, in either event, we have a dishonest dollar. This is the difference between honest and dishonest money. It would be hard to believe that any class of people in this country were in favor of dishonest money. No one could possibly derive any benefit from a depreciated currency. If it enabled a debtor to pay less than the amount of his indebtedness, it would at the same time compel him as a borrower to receive less than he is entitled to, and as a consumer to pay more for what he receives. Beside, this dishonest money unsettles values, disturbs credit, violates contracts, engenders speculation, and invariably results in panic and disaster. I therefore assume that we require that which every other substantial people in the civilized world require, and that is money that is actually worth what it purports to be, and not money that is artificially appreciated and that has a government falsehood stamped upon its face.

THE SILVER DOLLAR.

Our present silver dollar is dishonest. It does not come up to the test that I have referred to, and it is not a dollar in any sense of the word, except in so far as a Congressional fiat or a government device can make it so. A silver dollar contains $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, and $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver are only worth seventy cents or thereabout. A gold dollar contains 23 22-100 grains of pure gold, and if melted is worth a dollar the world over, and is an honest dollar. The ratio is wrong. That is to say, 16 grains of silver are not equal in value to 1 grain of gold. We have, therefore, two kinds of dollars in circulation—one that is honest and properly labeled; the other that is dishonest and falsely labeled. Now it is all very well to say that it is not silver that has depreciated but gold that has appreciated, but the fact still remains that unless you clip, amalgamate or deteriorate the gold dollar as has been suggested, that the present gold dollar, if melted, has a purchasing power greater than a silver dollar if melted, and that, therefore, the two dollars are not upon a bullion parity though they are upon a parity by law. In this connection, I am not much disturbed by the platitude that is continually obscuring the vision of our silver friends, and that is that the money of the Constitution is gold and silver. This is true in a certain sense, but it is not true that the ratio of the one to the other is defined by the Constitution, and it is the ratio alone that is giving us all the trouble. I am

a bimetalist according to the true meaning and definition of the term. I am not in favor of the monometalism of gold nor of the monometalism of silver. I am in favor of both metals, but of both upon an interchangeable basis of value, as was undoubtedly contemplated by the Constitution.

THE LAW THAT KEEPS THE SILVER DOLLAR AT PAR.

Well, the question is asked, if the silver dollar is not worth a dollar, how is it that it passes as a dollar from hand to hand and has a purchasing power equal to that of the gold dollar? The answer is that legislation has given it an artificial value. When I speak of legislation I mean, of course, the Act of July 14th, 1890, authorizing the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver monthly, to be paid in Treasury notes. I am of the opinion that this Act, if not repealed or modified, will eventually be attended with the most disastrous consequences, and that under it it will be impossible to keep the two metals at a parity. If the balance of trade should turn strongly against us, or if heavy shipments of gold are made to foreign countries, then the storm will come, and it will come so quickly that it will strain the financial resources of the country to weather it and make for a harbor of safety. This Act never should have been passed. It was a political expedient of the Republican party, and a temporary device to do two things at one and the same time, two things utterly conflicting in their nature, to gratify the silver mine owners and at the same

time to keep the two metals at a parity in the American market.

THE PLUNGE INTO THE MAELSTROM: FREE COINAGE.

But the silver mine owners are not at all gratified by this Act. They condemn it, though upon opposite grounds, in terms quite as severe as those pronounced upon it by the Chamber of Commerce of New York. They want free and unlimited coinage, and this brings me to the vital point at issue upon which this House has been flooded with a mass of literature and contemplated legislation that makes reason stand aghast. Never in the financial history of this country has so glaring a fraud been projected and such a raid been attempted upon the earnings and savings of the people. When I say fraud, I speak of the necessary effect of this movement and not of the motives of its advocates, a majority of whom are influenced by the best intentions and the most earnest convictions upon this subject. Just think of it! It is not enough that we purchase the entire output of the American mines, which we are now doing, but we must open our mints to the whole surplus silver of every country on the earth, and we must not only agree to do this forever, but we must also bind ourselves to coin their silver at a figure at least thirty per cent. more than it is worth in any of the markets or commercial centres of the world. The people really do not understand this business. They are being imposed upon and deceived. When they once grasp it, as they will, they will scatter these

bills to the winds, and this delusion will disappear so quickly and so effectually that it will only be remembered with derision, as has been the fate of other heresies of the same character, which made their appearance under the same auspices, captivating and gathering converts until they were once understood, and when the revelation came, going down to their resting places, with no monument to show where they lie, and with no epitaph, save the ridicule and dishonor that followed them to their graves.

WHO IS TO PROFIT BY THIS FRAUD?

There is no one to profit by this fraud, except the mine owners, who are to have the privilege of dumping their bullion upon the people at a coinage price away above its market value. Of course, I appreciate the fact that it is an excellent thing for them, giving them about \$18,000,000 a year more profit than they are making now, and they can well afford to inundate us with whole libraries of literature and employ a host of lobbyists to advance and promote this scheme. Who will get this money when the mints are opened and seventy cents can be coined into a government dollar? Will the people receive any of it? Not the clipping of an eagle. Every dollar of profit instead of going to the government and through the government to the people, as it does now, will go deep down into the pockets of the Nevada and Colorado millionaires, as with flying colors they march to the doors of the mint and demand of its Director that he stamp a flaming lie upon the product of their mines.

THE ALLEGED DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

But say they, we are entitled to this profit because silver was demonetized in 1873, and we only ask its restoration. What an utter pretense and mockery this is. Demonetized how? Why, there was no silver worth mentioning that could be demonetized in 1873. There has been more silver coined by the mints in three months after this alleged demonetization than there had been in the whole century that preceded it. Silver had risen to a premium in 1873. In other words, it was worth more in bullion than it was in money. So that when coinage was suspended, standard silver dollars were not in existence. I am not now justifying the methods by which this legislation was brought about. It is not motives; it is facts that we are seeking for, and the fact is that no objection was urged against this Act, no outcry was made against it until the discovery of the great silver deposits and the consequent depreciation of silver bullion. When silver was more valuable in bullion than in coin, then the mine owners were not very much concerned about its demonetization, but the moment the bullion value fell below the coinage value then it became a great outrage not to coin it at a premium. If we are to determine upon the character of the crime by the uproar that has been raised upon it, a general massacre of the people would hardly have exceeded it in atrocity. I confess that it is horrible to contemplate how these gentlemen were curtailed of their right to convert seventy cents' worth of silver into a government dollar; but I humbly suggest

that if we propose to restore to them this bounty that we proceed all along the line and give a thirty per cent. bounty to the farmer upon his agricultural products, to the manufacturer and the merchant upon their goods, and to the laborer upon his wages. They all need it, I am sure, in a much greater degree than the surfeited monopolists in question, and they have precisely the same right to appeal to this government for protection. But let us assume, for the sake of argument, that a great crime was committed by demonetizing silver in 1873; is that a reason why we should commit the greater crime of demonetizing gold in 1892?

THE DEMONETIZATION OF GOLD.

Is there any doubt but that the free and unlimited coinage of silver means the demonetization of gold? Not its demonetization by depreciating it, but by driving it to a premium and forcing it from the channels of circulation. Upon this point we need not appeal to Gresham's Law or to any other law of political economy. Let us appeal to the law of common sense, if there be any common sense left upon this subject. A merchant or a farmer or a laborer owes one hundred dollars. He has one hundred silver dollars, which are only worth seventy dollars, and one hundred gold dollars, which are worth one hundred dollars or more, to pay the debt with. How will he pay it, in silver or in gold? Where, in the financial history of any country, has there ever been an exception to that universal principle.

as unbending as the laws of nature, that the cheaper metal always drives the dearer metal out of circulation. What, then, will be the result of free and unlimited coinage? Inevitably, that gold will be hoarded and concealed, that we will be brought to a silver basis, and that there will be a contraction instead of an expansion of the currency. The six hundred million dollars' worth of gold which was in circulation, according to the report of the Director of the Mint, on February 1, 1891, will leave the channels of trade, and we will be compelled to devise some new system of finance to meet the emergency. But the Silver Lobby says this is all conjecture and false prophecy. Let us see whether it is. In 1822, the ratio was one to fifteen, and gold was relatively the more valuable. What was the result? Why, of the six millions of gold coined up to that time, not a dollar was in circulation. In 1834, the ratio was changed and made one to fifteen and a half. Silver was then worth more than gold. What was the result? The silver dollar disappeared entirely from circulation. At the present ratio, silver would unquestionably drive gold out of the country if the equilibrium of the law once gave way to free coinage, and then what would be our condition? There is no longer any guesswork, presumption or probability about it. Every well-balanced financier in the world would stake his reputation upon it that we would be brought to a silver basis, and upon a financial level with Russia, Mexico, the South and Central American Republics, and every other begging and impoverished government in the world.

CAN OTHER COUNTRIES SPARE THEIR SILVER?

But it is said that other countries cannot spare their silver; that there is no surplus of silver in the world, and even if we open our mints to free coinage, our coinage will not exceed its present limit, namely, the product of the American mines. If this is so, why not restrict the coinage to American silver. But it is not so. The moment we pass a law offering to coin the world's silver at a profit of thirty per cent. more than it is worth, from that moment, surplus or no surplus, we get all the silver that we can coin, and in exchange we ship our gold to foreign countries. Mr. Leach, the Director of the Mint, estimates the annual silver product of the world at \$168,000,000. But this is not all that we will be called upon to coin. The Secretary of the Treasury has stated, and I believe his statement to be true, that there is in Germany, Austria and other countries of Europe more than two hundred million dollars of silver, to say nothing of the vast hoards of silver in Mexico and the South American countries in the shape of coin and jewelry that would come to this country the moment we were ready to pay one dollar and twenty-nine cents an ounce for it, or even a lower rate. Besides this, the Bank of France holds at a loss an enormous amount of silver which it would lose no time in selling at a profit in the American market. We might as well cease talking about any international agreement upon this subject, just so long as we adhere to this delusion of opening our mints to the unlimited coinage of the world. The govern-

ments of Europe are anxiously awaiting the time when the opening will take place. They will attend it without being formally invited ; and we may rely upon one thing, and that is that they will never reciprocate the compliment of inviting us to any convention that they may hold for the purpose of settling the coinage and adjusting the ratio between the two metals. When we are once upon a purely silver basis, we will stand about as much chance of being asked to a conference of this sort as the savages of Senegambia, whose circulating medium consists of snake skins and hair oil.

NO SILVER COINED IN EUROPE FOR THIRTEEN YEARS.

I confidently claim that the best and safest guide that we can follow upon this question is the experience of other countries that have passed through the same difficulties and have been confronted with the same crisis that we are now approaching, and who have successfully stemmed the torrent and emerged from the danger. What is this experience? We have been told over and over again that for the last thirteen years there has not been a full legal tender silver coin struck in any of the European mints. In England, silver is subsidiary. In France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Greece, the coinage of full legal tender silver was suspended in 1878. Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland have practically taken their stand upon a gold basis ; and as testified to by the Director of the Mint, before the Committee on Coinage, Weights and

Measures, the only countries to-day that maintain the unlimited coinage of silver are India, Japan, Mexico and the South American Republics. Is not this an unanswerable argument against the folly of our course? Does not this indicate the dangerous precipice that we are approaching? Does it not show with unerring precision that we are gradually leaving the field of sound finance, and chasing a chimera that will lead us to destruction and into such unfathomable depths that human ingenuity will search in vain for any device or contrivance that can extricate or rescue us?

THE PER CAPITA APPARITION.

It is said, however, that we require more money than any of these countries that I have named, and that instead of having more, we have less. I wish I had the time to enter into the details of this latter branch of the investigation. I simply deny this statement. If any reliance can be placed upon the financial reports that have been authoritatively issued from the departments of almost every European government, we have a larger per capita circulation to-day than any of the countries of Europe, with the exception of France and the Netherlands. We have a per capita of over twenty-five dollars, while the average in Great Britain and Germany is only eighteen dollars, and the other countries of continental Europe have scarcely one-third of the per capita circulation that we have. If increase in the average circulation is evidence of prosperity, we ought to be very happy, because it is greater now than it has

ever been before. But this apparition that is fluttering before us has not even the semblance of reality or substance about it. The moment that we enter upon the arena of averages and per capita, we are chasing shadows and phantoms around the circle of a ghost dance. Suppose there was a little settlement of one hundred persons, and there were one hundred thousand dollars in the settlement, and the whole of it was held by fifty persons, what good would that confer upon the other fifty? A per capita circulation would make it a thousand dollars a head, but this would not be the truth. It is not the smallness of the circulation that is causing the stringency that is being complained of; it is the want of circulation that produces stagnation. Our wealth is centralized and monopolized to a large extent by the silver barons and their protected kindred, and kept from the public veins and arteries and from the channels of trade and commerce. Instead of requiring a larger circulation, I contend that we can succeed with a smaller circulation than any other country, because our system of credits, exchanges, drafts, checks and bank, warehouse and storage certificates, give us facilities and advantages that no other country in the world possesses. There is generally an abundance of money to be found, at low rate of interest too, if collaterals are forthcoming, and it is a very rare instance to find an individual or community unable to obtain money if they have an equivalent to give in exchange. This silver delusion is proceeding upon the theory that an additional amount of money is to be distributed whether there is anything

to give in exchange for it or not, and taking advantage of this sophism, the silver lobby is playing upon the ignorance of the masses and deceiving them with a cry of cheap money—a cry that will be turned into bitter lamentations whenever we experience the full effects of this legislation.

CHEAP MONEY FOR THE MASSES.

But, say they, the people will derive the benefit of free coinage, because it will necessarily give them more money, relieve debtors, raise prices, create a market for agricultural products, and generally bring about an era of flush times and inflation. This is the same old war-whoop under which, in days gone by, whole battalions of innocent victims have marched to financial ruin and destruction. Thank Heaven, the hour has come when men think and reason upon these subjects, and sober thought and intelligence dominate the counsels of the nation. Now I want, with all the emphasis that I can, to put this question to the men who are in earnest in the assertion that it will be of benefit and advantage to the people for this government, single-handed, to adopt the policy of free and unlimited coinage of silver. You say that such a policy will not have the effect of deluging this country with the silver of other countries; that the world has no silver to spare, and that it is an idle prediction and calamity-propheying, as you call it, to suppose that foreign silver will flood our markets, when we open our mints to receive it. I take you at your word now—strictly at your

word—and I grant you, for the sake of argument, that you are right, and Secretary Windom and Secretary Foster and the ablest financiers of the country were wrong when they indulged in such gloomy forebodings. Well, then, what follows? That we will only consume our own silver, namely: the product of the American mines. That is your contention. Now tell me, if you please, and explain to the American people, the victims of your contemplated policy, how that will give them any more money or be of the slightest influence in increasing the circulation of the country. We all know that the government is taking, at the present time, the whole output of the American mines, and if it is doing that, and no more will come to it, from what source then will there be an increase or addition to the present circulation? In other words, as I have always contended, it is not the people who are to receive any more money, it is the mine owners who, instead of selling their silver under the present law at the market price, are to be invested with the privilege of coining it at a fictitious and inflated value. And this, Mr. Speaker, is the whole business, and all there is in it and all there is of it; and the moment you take away from these bills the interest of the mine owners who are supporting them, the good sense of the American people will shatter them into fragments, and not a component part will be left. Stripped and scaled of its gloss and glitter, this is the contest, a contest in which the people have not the slightest interest except to demand of their representatives that they shall not legislate to subsidize the silver syndicates of Nevada

and Colorado, that no such excessive tribute shall be paid to them, that they shall not be permitted under any pretense to coin their product at any profit beyond the market price, that they shall not be allowed to enter into any co-partnership with the government, and that when they come here demanding protection for their mines, and a premium upon their treasure, they shall be told in plain and unmistakable terms that we will never stamp a false impression upon our coin to gratify the greed or avarice of any class or section of this country, no matter what influence they may wield or how potential they may be.

THE EFFECT OF FREE COINAGE UPON THE FARMER.

It is principally to the farmer, however, that the silver lobby is appealing in its frantic effort to earn the great contingent which is awaiting the realization of its hopes. After the lobby receives this contingent, what is the farmer to receive? Will it agree to divide its fees with him? Oh, no, it will refer the farmer to its principals, the mine owners. Will they agree to divide the 18,000,000 of dollars of additional profit that they are to make; will they dole out a small pittance of it to the farmer? They are using him as the means and instrument to make this profit. They are parading him as the victim of a monetary gold unit; now what will they pay him for becoming the victim of a monetary silver unit? If a farmer requires a thousand dollars with which to improve or stock his farm, what sort of dollars will the philanthropists of

Nevada and Colorado give him to make his purchases with? Will they give him or will he get a thousand one-hundred-cent dollars, or a thousand seventy-cent dollars? Gentlemen, every one knows that he will get a thousand free and unlimited coinage silver dollars. What sort of dollars will they be? They will be dollars which in bullion cost the mine owners about sixty cents, which are worth seventy cents, but upon which they have procured the government to stamp the spurious emblem of one hundred cents. But this is not all. Is not a large amount of the indebtedness of the country which is to-day borne by the agricultural interests payable by the terms of the contract in gold coin, and will not gold coin be called for in every contract the moment that a debased silver dollar is made a legal tender? I ask, simply in a spirit of innocent inquiry, as these bastard dollars are being delivered with all the expedition of the mint, whether the farmers of the country, in their orisons and daily supplications, will be likely, with tears of gratitude, to return their thanks to their benefactors for the manifold mercies that they have showered upon them in compelling them to buy gold at a premium in order to liquidate the debts they have contracted to pay in gold.

FREE COINAGE FOR THE LABORER.

But the farmer is not the only dupe who is being deceived in this matter. How about the laborer? He is the sacrifice and the sufferer, confessedly so, in a

worse degree than any other individual in the community. Will he stand by simply gazing at this revolution without sounding an alarm or raising the signal of danger? Everywhere, in every intelligent discussion on the subject, it is substantially conceded that the coinage of a seventy-cent dollar is equivalent to a thirty per cent. reduction in the standard of wages. The laborer has nothing to sell except his labor. Will the price of labor rise? Never under such a policy as this. The whole experience of the past, the axioms of political economy, the laws that govern employer and wage earner, all proclaim to us that the coinage of an inferior metal means and must mean a reduction, not only in wages, but also in the purchasing power of wages. This is precisely what is claimed by the opposition, namely, that articles of consumption will rise in value and that the producer will receive more money for his product. Admitting this to be true, where does the laborer come in, when at the end of the week he receives ten silver dollars for a week's work, and finds that his ten silver dollars will buy seven dollars or less of necessities for his family, I pray you where is his place in the procession. The silver barons are steering clear of this part of the performance. The laborer is not in their programme; but just as sure as I am speaking to you now, when the curtain rises and the scene reveals in one spot the lordly owner of the mine with his treasure in profusion stored around him, and behind him the mint with its swiftest process fashioning and forging it into coin, and in another spot the miner who digs it from the earth, exhausted by

his toil, receiving it at the fabricated and fictitious mark that his employer has placed upon it, then perhaps the voice of intelligent labor, at every meeting place and council where it assembles to discuss its rights, will be heard in tones of thunder protesting against the injustice of this crime.

THE REMEDY.

I have concluded this presentation of this all-important subject. Of course, I have only selected the salient points and leading features of the controversy. In an address of this sort nothing else would be expected. Whole libraries have been written upon this topic. Political economists and financiers, in every age, and in almost every language, have treated and discussed this subject in all the varying forms and shapes in which it has appeared. I have circumscribed myself within the environment that now surrounds it, and I earnestly appeal to my countrymen, calmly and dispassionately, to bestow on this matter the consideration that it deserves. It is not a question for to-day or for to-morrow. It will continually recur until it is finally settled. It is not and ought not to be a party question. It will be a great shame to drag it into the heated field of political action, where the conflict of prejudice and the clash of passion are utterly unfitted to decide it. It requires a different forum. It needs the cool, unbiassed mind, the well-informed and balanced judgment, the ripe experience and wisdom of those who have no personal interest at stake, and who can meet the issue with a due regard for the

rights of the entire country. There is only one remedy that the occasion suggests. I use the language of the advocates of the silver bills. Place gold and silver upon an equal basis. I agree with them in the conclusion of their syllogism. I do not agree with them in their premises or in the means through which they arrive at the result. I would place them upon an equal basis by making them intrinsically equivalent to the device that they bear ; I would not coin a gold dollar that does not contain a dollar's worth of gold, nor coin a silver dollar that does not contain a dollar's worth of silver. Every other scheme is a fiction and a fraud. To compel the government to place the emblem of a dollar with the ensign of the Republic upon seventy cents worth of bullion is worse than counterfeiting, and is an artifice and a trick upon the people. No such juggling with the finances of the country can ever succeed. I would repeal all legislation that sanctions the right to falsely label the coinage of the mint. I would respectfully suggest to the Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures that a false coin is as bad as a false weight or a false measure. When gold is to be coined, let it be coined at its market value. When silver is to be coined, let it be coined at its market value. This is true and honest bimetalism. This is the gold and silver of the Constitution. Every other theory leads to monometalism, and free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present ratio is monometalism in the worst degree. I have no lingering fear that any such measure will ever become the settled policy of the Republic. I have

too much confidence in the patriotism and the intelligence of our people. This discussion, though proceeding for years, has in truth but just begun. It takes time to reach the great portals of public opinion. I am willing to abide by its judgment, whatever it may be. That judgment has not yet been formed. It is just in the process of evolution. There are two roads before us. The one is the path of honor and of good faith; the other leads to the wilderness, where confusion reigns and where the poisoned weed, luxurious to the sight but deadly to the touch, in exuberant growth abounds. It is the weed that springs from corruption, whose fruit will wither to the taste, and whose shade sends forth the dampness of decay. Temptation leads us to the wilderness, I know. Alluring hopes light up the way and splendid visions attract us there, but I tell you, gentlemen, that other nations, their faith repudiated, their pledges broken and their promises violated, have time and time again traveled in the same direction. They have abandoned the open path and taken to the wilderness, and by the sad example of their fate, by the doom that has befallen them, by the judgment and the sentence they have suffered, I warn you to keep to the path that leads to the field where honor blooms, and where integrity, through all the seasons surviving every state of transition and of change, has defiantly withstood the tumult of the tempest and the violence of the storm.

SPEECH

AGAINST THE FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE OF
SILVER, UPON A MOTION OF GEN. LANHAM OF
TEXAS TO MAKE THE COMMITTEE UPON
COINAGE, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
A PRIVILEGED COMMITTEE.
52ND CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER: I desire to say a few words in reply to what the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] has said with reference to his proposed amendment, and in saying which he covered a great deal more ground than is included within his amendment. I realize the ominous fact that these bills looking to the free and unlimited coinage of silver will receive the support of a large number of my party colleagues, and however distasteful it may be to me to differ from them upon so vital an issue, I want thus early to announce my dissent with the most positive and unmistakable utterance that I can give it.

My convictions upon this subject are so decided that I can not afford to maintain a silence which might be construed into an acquiescence in any part or portion of the doctrine that has swept down upon this House and linked

its judgment to what, to my mind, is as unsound a heresy as any that ever made its appearance in any intelligent representative assembly. History has been read in vain, the cardinal doctrines of political economy have been entirely misapprehended, and the experience of every country on the globe that uses gold and silver as a circulating medium has been misconstrued, if there be any semblance of logic in the propositions advanced by the gentleman from Texas.

Now, what is proposed to be done? We contemplate, in response to what we conceive to be a public want, to increase the currency of the country and to supply the people with an additional volume of money. What sort of money do we propose to give them? A stable, standard coin that is actually worth the price that we impress upon it? Not at all. An uncertain fluctuating medium that we intend to artificially appreciate, against the coinage of which the doors of every European mint have been closed for a period of over thirteen years, and which is repudiated as a standard of value in every well regulated commercial government of the world. How do we propose to distribute this luxury? As emergency may require it, so as to keep the metals at a corresponding value?

Not at all. It is to be unlimited in point of time and uncircumscribed in point of quantity; so that not only the entire output of the American market, the increasing product of the Mexican mines, but all the circulating silver of Europe that can possibly be spared, and all the silver from all the earth in every place and quarter where

it can be found, as quickly as it can be gathered, is to be brought to the American mint and stamped with the ensign of the Republic. Standing here, not as the spokesman of any creditor class or moneyed interest, but as a representative of the people, I deprecate and denounce this headlong scheme. If we were here, Mr. Speaker, legislating for some revolutionary republic of Central America, or if it was incumbent upon us to find a more profitable market for the mining camps of Colorado and Nevada, we might perhaps be justified in adopting a temporary expedient of this character.

But when you tell me that you propose to make this Republic the outlet and the asylum for the unlimited silver coinage of the world, then I say to you that when the people understand this matter and realize what you propose to do they will submerge your bills, with all their hollow hopes and pretexts, beneath the torrent of their disapproval.

Mr. DUNGAN. I rise to a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER *pro tempore* [Mr. HATCH]. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. DUNGAN. Is it proper that in a discussion on the rules it is allowable to discuss the tariff and free coinage?

Mr. RAYNER. I have not said anything about the tariff.

Mr. DUNGAN. You have discussed free coinage.

Mr. RAYNER. I am answering the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM].

The SPEAKER *pro tempore*. The Chair will state in response to the point of order that he thinks the

gentleman from Maryland is proceeding in order. The gentleman will proceed without interruption.

Mr. RAYNER. Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of bimetalism in the true meaning and acceptation of the term. I am opposed to the monometalism of gold; I am opposed to the monometalism of silver. I am in favor of bimetalism, recognizing the two metals according to the Constitution as intended by the framers of that instrument.

But what does this new school of finance and philosophy teach us? Why, that this Government can arbitrarily fix the price of 129 cents an ounce as the value of bullion silver, when in the markets of London, Frankfort, Vienna, and New York it is actually worth only a dollar an ounce, and that when we accomplish this wonderful feat the governments of Europe will retain at home all their silver, which is worth only a dollar an ounce, rather than coin it in the American mints at the enormous profit of 29 cents an ounce.

Mr. Speaker, as the result of this illogical syllogism, we are told that when we are exporting all of our own gold and importing everybody else's silver, the cheaper metal will not drive the dearer metal from circulation; that gold will not be demonetized or held at a premium; that we shall not be brought to a silver basis, but that the effect will be to keep the two metals close together at a parity in the American market. I regret to say that I cannot become a follower of this faith or a proselyte to this sect. To accept it we would be compelled to unlearn everything we have ever learned on this sub-

ject, to repudiate the universal experience of centuries, and to apply the flames to that great library of learning and instruction that has been bequeathed to us by the ablest economists from the academies of France and the seminaries of Germany and Great Britain, as the torch was once applied by a Roman emperor to an ancient temple, consuming its untold treasure of knowledge and depriving the rising generation of the collected literature of the ancient world.

It has been lately said, however, by a distinguished gentleman upon the floor of Congress that it would be no detriment whatever to place this government upon a financial status corresponding with that of the government of China ; that the balance of trade with China is against us, and that this is entirely due to the fact that silver is the circulating medium of that empire. And with equal emphasis he proclaimed that the fall of prices is entirely due to the demonetization of silver, that what the people are clamoring for is a depreciated currency in which to pay their debts, regardless of the purchasing power which the currency possesses. To use his own language : " We need not go a bowshot from this Capitol to find human nature in all the walks of life suffering for the want of money." He might have added that you need not leave the Capitol at all to find human nature suffering from the want of money. And I would like to add that all the money you can flood the world with will never relieve human nature from the suffering that it undergoes for the want of money.

If every silver mine on this earth were drained to the last vestige of its treasure and every vein and strata

exhausted, and the whole supply freely coined at the American mints, not one substantial particle of wealth would be bestowed upon the citizens of this republic; not by the slightest fraction would it increase the currency of the country, and no possible benefit would be conferred upon any class of people except the syndicates who are deriving an enormous profit from the product of their mines which by usurping the right of eminent domain they have monopolized and alienated from the people to whom they belong by every law of nature and justice.

If I had the time, Mr. Speaker, and it were possible to change the conclusion that a majority of my political colleagues have reached on this subject, I would discuss it along the whole line of the controversy. I would call your attention to the fact that, pass whatever laws you may, enact such statutes as you choose, yet your balances must still be paid in gold, and if not actually paid in gold coin, that they must be adjusted and measured by the standard of gold; because, as has been said over and over again, there can be and will be but one standard, and gold is that standard with the consent of all civilized nations.

I would call your attention to the fact that, while we require less money per capita for a circulating medium than any other country on the face of the globe, we have to-day a greater circulation than any European country, with the possible exception of France. I would remind you again of the fact that the articles of the Latin Union have expired by limitation, and that the terms of the

treaty are only in force by the voluntary acquiescence and at the revocable will of the contracting parties, and that the time must speedily come when the accredited representatives of the gold and silver nations of the world will meet together in conference for the determination of this, the greatest of all international questions which concerns the interests of their constituents.

But, Mr. Speaker, what is the use of argument when the verdict of this side of the House has been determined upon? There is one thing in conclusion, however, that I will say, for the time will come later on during the session when we will have an opportunity to discuss this question in full, and what I say now has been only brought about by what the gentleman from Texas [Mr. LANHAM] has said in the course of his discussion.

Pass whatever laws you may, there is one thing that will take place, and that is that the laborer will never participate in any of the benefits arising from such measures. The laborer will be compelled to receive his compensation in a depreciated currency that has enhanced to him the price of every article of the commodities that he must purchase. When the Legislature of Wisconsin, in the resolution which was recently adopted, proclaimed that those who toil will be the last to receive the benefit and the first to feel the influence of the rise in the price of commodities, it simply announced a law as unchangeable and as inexorable as the laws of nature.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is said that these bills must be passed from a party standpoint. This I utterly deny.

Viewed from a political standpoint it is a glaring blunder, for it will be impossible to rectify it. We dare not place in our party platform in the next national contest a resolution declaring for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The colors that bore any such "strange device" as that would become the harbinger and signal of defeat.

Let me say to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Speaker, that there is one quality of statesmanship that in this country attracts to itself the respect and the confidence of the people. It is not diplomacy, it is not popularity, it is not even ability; it is courage—the courage of a man in public life to stand by his convictions. He might be wrong, but if with steadfast purpose he swerves neither to the right nor to the left, why the people prefer him to one who trims his sails with every passing wind and becomes the pliant slave of caprice and fortune. It does not require a great degree of moral courage to proclaim, "I would rather be right than President," but it does require a high quality of heroism to declare that "if public opinion be the standard of right or wrong, then I would rather be wrong than be President."

In 1888 a Democratic President, upon the great issue of tariff reform, with more than Roman courage, cut the bridges down when he could easily have purchased victory at the sacrifice of honor. He was struck down facing the enemy. Far better is an honorable defeat in an honorable cause than a corrupt victory by dishonorable means. To-day he is stronger than all the political forces that are arrayed against him. He will rise above the machinery of our conventions, and with

the abiding confidence that I have in the principles of my party, with the fervent hope that I cherish that the hour of our deliverance is approaching, let me counsel you and appeal to you to abandon this hazardous undertaking, which will only environ us with difficulties, and which will imperil the leadership of him who, after twenty-four years of exile, led our hosts to triumph, and who shall again be called upon to rally for an honorable victory the Democracy of the Union.

SPEECH

AGAINST THE FREE AND UNLIMITED COINAGE OF
SILVER. 53RD CONGRESS.*

MR. SPEAKER: While I have been given forty minutes upon this question I shall not consume the whole of that time. I have but a few remarks that I desire to address to this House, as so much has been said upon this subject, and we have all made up our minds upon the issue.

In fact, from my own standpoint, I can add very little by way of supplement to the views contained in the President's message. I believe there is a unanimity of sentiment in this House in favor of the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. The difference of opinion arises upon the manner in which that repeal should be effected.

With great regard and due respect to the views of those who differ from me, I desire to state my own position, and my own position alone, very frankly upon this subject.

I am in favor of an unqualified repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, without any conditions or pro-

*This Speech was made upon the Repeal of the Sherman Bill, Mr. Rayner opening the debate on the Democratic side.

visos whatever. I am not in favor of purchasing another ounce of silver, or of coining another dollar of it, either at the present ratio or at any other ratio, that we can practically determine upon. In saying this, I desire to add that I have no hostility whatever to the use of silver upon a proper basis as a circulating medium; but with all the careful consideration I have been able to devote to this subject, I am convinced beyond all doubt or question that its recognition by coinage, except upon international agreement, is a financial undertaking utterly impossible of accomplishment except at the risk of ruin and disaster.

The proposition that I had occasion to maintain in this House before, and that I again assert with all the emphasis I can, is, that in my humble judgment the present ratio is unjust and arbitrary, rendered so by conditions that did not exist at the time of the demonetization of silver, in 1873; and that it lies not within the power of this Government, strong as it is, to corner the silver product of the mines to keep up the price upon a constantly declining market, to impress upon it a fictitious value, and by legislative decree compel the people to take it at a price in utter disproportion to the figure that it bears in every commercial center of the world.

The universal experience of history, the action of every sound and solvent government, teach us that if we continue in this mad attempt to equalize that which is unequal, to appreciate a metal that is continually depreciating, to fix a standard for a coin that for over twenty years never has had a fixed value, but has fluctuated

with every new acquisition from a premium in 1873 to a decline at this hour of almost one-half of its coinage value, this desperate system of finance, with nothing to justify it, with almost the whole intelligence of the country against it, with nothing in its track except disaster and ruin, is to prevail, then, in my opinion, until the day of a better judgment shall come, we might as well retreat from the lofty position we have occupied in the confidence of mankind, and, descending, lock hands with every bankrupt government of the earth that believes in the manufacture of wealth at government mints, in cheap money, in broken contracts, and in repudiated debts, and so believing have by reason of their faith been excommunicated as heretics from the roll of civilized communities and banished from the field of honor.

I am aware of the fact that many of my colleagues, for whose opinions I entertain the greatest respect, assert, and it has been freely charged, that the decline in the price of silver has been caused by its demonetization at the American mints and by what is constantly called a "conspiracy" to destroy it as a circulating medium among the governments of Europe. I deny this proposition, and the statistics will not sustain it. It may be true that the free coinage of silver at the mints would tend for a time to keep up the fictitious standard of the coin, but the value of the bullion would always be controlled by the market price, it would fluctuate like every other commodity, it would be governed by the laws of supply and demand, and eventually, according to every principle of reason, according to every cardinal and accepted axiom

of political economy, the coinage price would become the bullion price; the unit of value would be the market value; the money basis would be the basis of the cheaper metal; the dearer metal would leave the avenues of trade; inflation would give way to panic; private obligations would be nullified; public obligations would be discredited, and the honor of the nation would be impaired.

It is claimed that what we require in this country is a system of bimetallism, a bimetallic standard—that is to say, the free use of both gold and silver at the Government mints. But, Mr. Speaker, we will never have this until the commercial nations of the earth agree upon a proper ratio, and just so long as the Sherman act remains upon the statute book so long is an international ratio a financial impossibility. So long as we purchase silver and part with gold, so long will monetary conferences result in failure. When we cease purchasing silver and proclaim to the world that the gold dollar is the standard and the unit of American value, then we can bring our rivals to terms, because, in my opinion, there is not a sufficient amount of gold in existence to supply the demands of commerce and the necessities of the world's circulation.

So long as the Treasury continues to act as a pawnbroker's shop for the benefit of the Colorado and Nevada mines, so long will Great Britain and Germany refuse to appreciate the collateral securities that we hold in our vaults; but when a silver certificate can be redeemed at par and a silver dollar is intrinsically worth the inscription that it bears, then we can proudly and defiantly

meet them upon the field of finance without the slightest sacrifice of the stability of our currency or the slightest surrender of our honor as a nation.

Let us look for one moment at our experience in attempting to keep up the price of silver. What is the truth? Why, that silver, instead of rising, is lower to-day than it has ever been, and instead of the silver dollar being upon a parity with gold, the disparity between them is greater than it has ever been in the history of the world. Not only this, but the government has lost nearly \$40,000,000 in its efforts to "corner" a declining market, and the Treasury to-day would not dare to risk the sale of its bullion silver.

Not this alone, but with all our persistent efforts to force silver into circulation, the people have stubbornly refused to take it, so that to-day the overwhelming proportion of it is hidden in Government vaults. I believe that if the people appreciated the actual condition of the Treasury, and that there was not enough gold in the Treasury to redeem the smallest fraction of our outstanding notes there would not be a single one of them that would be worth 60 cents upon the dollar. You ask me, then, what keeps up the parity between gold and silver? I think I can tell you. One thing and one thing alone, the misplaced confidence of the people.

When once that yields and the fuse is lighted, there will be no necessity for repealing the Sherman act; it will repeal itself immediately. Commercial ratios will take the place of legal ratios. Our equation of values will depart. The faithless union between gold and silver will

be dissolved. Its spurious offspring will be excluded from the channels of legitimate circulation, and your silver certificates and Treasury notes, instead of passing by sleight of hand at par, will be exhibited as mementoes and souvenirs of the most grotesque system of finance that ever obtained among any intelligent people since the day when political economy first claimed recognition as a science, and the doctrine of fiat money was relegated to the bankrupt governments of the Orient and the revolutionary republics of Central and South America.

I know it is claimed that what we require here is an expansion of the currency; that our trouble has all been caused by contraction of the currency. Mr. Speaker, the Treasury reports will show that there is as much money outstanding now, within a fraction, as there was before the present stringency began. What, then, is the cause of our trouble? Will you permit me to tell you what I think was its origin. The trouble commenced when European capitalists refused to purchase American securities. Why did they do this? Because they became convinced that with a continuance of the Sherman act upon the statute book, gold would be driven to a premium and bonds which were payable in gold would either not be paid at all or would be paid in silver depreciated to its bullion value. The money has not left the country—not a dollar of it. It is all here. It is simply hoarded and secreted. The Treasury reports will show it. It is lying in the calm, afraid to venture out among the breakers in the coming storm.

Mr. Speaker, this is worse than a panic in the stock market, because, when good stocks go down, they generally recover. The stock market has time and time again rallied from the most ruinous depression. But the trouble from which we are now suffering affects every merchant in the land, high or low, rich or poor. It affects the debtor and the creditor, the lender and the borrower, and has thrown a pall over the business interests of this country from which there is no escape, devise what schemes and adopt what expedients you may, except through the announcement to the world that the purchase of silver must stop, that the curtain must be drawn upon this jugglery, that this system of finance, built up by political tricks and maneuvers, must be stricken from the statute book, and that by the united wisdom of both parties, aside from politics and for the common weal of the land, a new system shall be formulated and adhered to which shall make every dollar of the national coin a dollar all the world over; which shall insure full faith and credit to every obligation that bears the indorsement of the Treasury; which at home shall have equal stability in every commonwealth, and abroad shall restore to us the forfeited confidence of mankind.

How often do we hear statements made about gold and silver being the money of the Constitution. Now, there is no gentleman here who can not get a copy of the Constitution, or remember, without getting it, what it says. I ask anyone where is there a line in the Constitution of the United States providing that this Government shall coin gold and silver? Point it out, gentlemen,

if there is any such language in the Constitution of the United States. That is the argument which is constantly addressed to the ignorance of the country—that gold and silver are the money of the Constitution. But where is there a line in the Constitution which obligates the Government of the United States to coin gold and silver at all? There is not one such word. The interdiction is against the States, prohibiting them from making anything except gold and silver a legal tender. Besides the right to coin money, there is not a letter in the Constitution conferring upon the Government of the United States power even to coin gold and silver.

In this discussion we are constantly led astray from the main issue by the persistent clamor about the demonetization of silver in 1873. Not one word is said about the fact that there was, substantially, no silver to be demonetized in 1873, and that at that time standard silver dollars had gone out of existence, because the bullion in them was worth more than a dollar. If silver had gone to a premium not a single protest would we ever have heard against its demonetization at the American and European mints. When it commenced to decline, however, then the startling discovery was made that it was demonetized, and the clamor has increased in intensity and ferociousness in proportion to the decline in price. The lower the price the greater the noise, as if a vital issue of this character, affecting the welfare of every home in the land, could be settled by the angry abuse of demagogues and fanatics, who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by involving the country in turmoil and disorder.

When I speak of demagogues and fanatics, I do not refer to the honest advocates of a bimetallic standard, whose earnest convictions, so far differing from my own, are enlisted in the cause they represent; nor do I mean the mine owners, whose continued prosperity and exorbitant profits are threatened by the repeal of the measure that is now before us. I refer to a set of politicians who prey upon the ignorance of their victims, who trim with every party, who have no politics because they have no principles, and whose opinions are like the surging tide that ebbs and flows, leaving no landmarks in its track, except the froth and foam it casts upon the surface. This is the element that predominated in the conventions that have lately assembled for the purpose of discussing this subject. Men who have been identified with every crazy movement that has taken place in their generation, who believe in the doctrine that cheap money is king, that inflation means prosperity, that the creditor has no rights that are entitled to respect, that money is a curse when it is good but a blessing when it is worthless, that the man who is bankrupt must always be protected and the man who is honest ought to be sacrificed. Men believing in these doctrines have controlled these conventions. Now, from their decision, from their incoherent medley, from their babble of confusion and of clattering tongues, I appeal to the sound judgment of the American people to adjudicate this mighty question.

I appeal to the people for a currency that is uniform, that is stable, that is of intrinsic value, equal to the inscription that it bears, that can be used as a medium of

exchange and a standard of value, and that will be universally recognized throughout the world as the symbol of the honor and solvency of the Government that it represents. Does silver come up to these requirements? I think not. Let us go back about forty years in the history of silver and see how far it falls short of all these qualities, and let us look at the production of silver. In 1855 the world's production of silver amounted to about \$40,000,000. To-day it amounts to about one hundred and eighty millions, and still we are told that the price ought not to have declined, and that this Government, single-handed, can, in the face of this enormously increased production, maintain the present ratio.

How about the production of gold during the same period? In 1855 the world's production of gold was about 132,000,000; to-day it is about 120,000,000, and still, in the face of this discrepancy, we are told that ratios never change, and parity should be maintained at present prices. In 1855 silver was worth \$1.33 an ounce. In 1873 pure silver in an American dollar was worth about 103; that is to say, a premium of 3 per cent. To-day it is worth about 60 cents on the dollar. In 1855 the ratio of market prices of gold and silver was about $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; to-day it is about 28 to 1.

With these undisputed figures before us, I calmly and dispassionately ask the business interests of the land, who want an honest currency, whether they believe that the United States, with silver now virtually demonetized in every government in Europe, can alone and with only

a hundred million dollars of gold in the Treasury, continue to purchase fifty million dollars' worth of silver a year, substantially pay for it in gold, and, at the same time, maintain a ratio for silver almost double the amount of its market value all over the earth and wherever it is used or purchased?

There is another proposition that I desire briefly to advert to. In our effort to maintain a bimetallic standard we stand unaided and alone. We voluntarily take our place with Mexico, Japan, Chile, Peru, and cut adrift from Great Britain and every solvent government on the continent of Europe. Gold has been the standard of England since 1798. In 1816 it was made the standard by an act of Parliament. In 1871 silver was demonetized in Germany. France came to a gold standard in 1873 by her participation in the Latin Monetary Union, which limited the coinage of silver of all countries that became parties to it. Austria is making every effort to reach a gold standard, and even in India we have observed the policy that Great Britain has lately put into operation, which is equivalent to a demonetization of silver? Now, how is it possible for us, in the face of this protest against the further coinage of silver, to keep on purchasing it with gold?

Where is the gold to come from? Will these countries exchange their gold for our silver dollars (worth 60 cents) upon the coinage price? Will they not, on the contrary, exchange their silver for our gold? How long will it be before the Treasury is bankrupt and the gold reserve, which is a mere fiction now, will entirely vanish?

The hour has now come for action upon this question. This is as great an opportunity as we will ever have to maintain our credit and hold our rank upon the field of finance. Do not let us surrender it, and with it the greatest boon that we possess—a sound and stable currency for the generations yet to come.

Let us look for a moment at the arguments that have been used upon the other side, as it is fair that we should do so. I have already said all I intend to say about the “crime,” as it has been called, of demonetization of silver of 1873. I come now to the other suggestions that are made use of. First, it is claimed that the coinage of silver will make money more abundant. How will it do this? Pray, tell me, because I confess ignorance upon this subject. Who will get this money? When a Colorado mine owner sends \$600 worth of silver to the mint and the mint returns him a thousand silver dollars for it, who gets a thousand silver dollars? Do the people get it? Does it increase the wages of the miner who has dug the silver from the earth? I expect not. I expect that the only persons who will profit by this iniquitous transaction will be those who sell the silver and control the product. I ask the Democracy of this House whether they are willing to stimulate an enterprise of this sort that deliberately robs the people to enrich a particular class who monopolize the mines. We who have never favored class legislation, are we prepared to lock hands with a few silver States to the utter ruin of the balance of our country? If more money is needed, can we not increase our currency upon

a legitimate basis? Is there no method known to the ingenuity of man besides a device of this sort to enlarge the circulating medium of the country?

But it is said if we do this and coin silver at the present ratio, the price of silver will be raised to the coinage value. What a shallow pretext that is. A schoolboy would be ridiculed if he asserted any such proposition as this in any college of the land. If the fiat of the Government can create values, what right have we to select silver and convert it from a commodity into a coin? Well, it is claimed that this should be done because the Constitution says so. Point me to the clause that says so. You can not do it because it is not there. Not a word about a ratio, not a word about the coinage of either gold or silver for the Government of the United States. Yes, but it is said it will raise prices. I am not in favor of raising prices, on general principles. But how will cheap money raise prices? Is not the producer a consumer when he sells? Will he not be compelled to buy?

Mr. Speaker, there is only one thing that it will do, and I admit that it will accomplish that. It will allow the debtor to scale his debts. It will be a weapon in the hands of a dishonest borrower to break his contract and pay his creditor in a coin different from the one that was impliedly contracted for. To such an arrangement as this I am unalterably opposed, and I would stand here and let every species of legislation go by default before I would favor any system that would sow dishonor through the land, that would humiliate us in the

eyes of mankind, and that would cover us with shame in every portion of the country where justice is respected and honor prevails.

One word more before I conclude. I can go to the Treasury to-day and contract with the Government of the United States to furnish it a better dollar than the Government is coining—a dollar with far more silver in it and better silver in it; and I can make an enormous profit out of the operation. But what would become of me if I should undertake to provide such a dollar. I should be indicted and convicted and sent to the penitentiary. This shows what sort of a system of finance this Government is conducting, when it sends a man to the penitentiary for giving the people a better dollar than the Government itself is coining.

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BLAND], for whose integrity of purpose and fearless honesty I have the greatest respect, knows that when he goes to the Treasury Department and in exchange for one of these silver certificates which he has had issued, receives a dollar for which the Government has not paid over 60 cents, that he is deceived and defrauded; and he denounces this operation as I do, and he wants the law repealed that sanctions the iniquity of this operation. The only difference between us is that he wants the law repealed with free coinage, and I want it repealed so that we can force an honest ratio upon the trading nations of the world. I want it repealed, Mr. Speaker, because it stands without an example, without a parallel in the fiscal policy of any solvent nation. I want it repealed

because it protects the owners of the mines at the cost, the expense, and the sacrifice of the people.

I ask you, sir, what earthly right have they to haunt these halls demanding protection for their investment? Is the Government bound to guarantee to them a profit upon their enterprise, or upon their investments? Is it under any obligation to make their enterprise a paying one? I deny it. Is the Government in partnership with the mine owners? I deny it. Does the statute bind the Government of the United States to maintain the ratio of 16 to 1 when it ought to be 28 to 1? I deny it. There is no contract which is binding or valid which is not based on consideration and founded on mutuality.

But if there is a partnership, let it be forthwith dissolved, and in the decree of dissolution let there be a clause embodying the cardinal principle of governmental equity that we will never stamp a lie upon our coin to satisfy the greed or avarice of any section of the country or any set of men, no matter what may be their influence or how potent or powerful they may be.

A few months ago, the Democracy, then in convention assembled, without a murmur of dissent from any quarter, in the most passionate terms denounced this measure, at the same time emphatically pledging the party to its speedy repeal. I am in favor of keeping this promise according to the strict letter of the instrument.

I know that this particular provision of the Democratic platform has been construed as diversely as the various interests of those who interpret it.

If we have made promises and can not keep them all, let us keep at least a part of them, as far as we are able

to keep them. There was something said, I know, about the parity of the two metals, but you can not keep the two metals, silver and gold, on a basis of absolute parity alone and without an international conference unaided. It is nonsense; it is quibbling with words to say that you can do so. You can not maintain a double standard in the Government of the United States in the face of the action of every other civilized government upon the face of the earth which has adopted the gold standard. That portion of the platform can not be carried out, but you can take a step in the direction of it, and if you can not make your promise good, do as the President has said—carry it out as far as you can.

I am in favor of keeping faith in the promises made. There is no ambiguity about the terms. Our duty is as plain as the language of man can make it; and from the binding obligation that rests upon us there is no escape or evasion except through an absolute betrayal of the confidence of the people. If, Mr. Speaker, we deceive them now, it may be, and doubtless will be, a very long time before we will have another opportunity to deceive them again, because if we attempt it they will deride us with broken pledges that we have flaunted in their faces.

In conclusion, sir, I wish to state that so far as I am concerned at this critical era in the history of our country, I am not in the slightest degree disturbed or intimidated by the glittering catchwords of political conventions. I am guided by a purer and a higher faith. No matter what construction may be placed upon the platform, I believe in forever striking from the tenets of our political

creed the superstitious folly that a nation grows rich in proportion to the amount of worthless money it can coin. In place of this idolatry I would plant high up upon our altars, so that all mankind could read it, the inscription that we cherish our honor as much as our liberty, and that we would as soon fall and perish as dishonor any of the obligations upon which have been imprinted or emblazoned the emblem of the Republic.

SPEECH

IN FAVOR OF REVENUE REFORM AND AGAINST A
PROTECTIVE TARIFF. 50TH CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER: If the House will grant me its indulgence upon the paramount question that will claim our attention during this present session I shall be thankful for its patience, which I know has been taxed and strained in listening to discourses upon the subject of the tariff. My remarks shall be very brief, because I do not propose to treat it as a question of theory or political economy, and because I appreciate the fact that the country is tired of hearing speeches on this subject.

In 1884 the Democratic party, in convention assembled, denounced the injustice of the existing tariff, and in tones of thunder proclaimed all through this land that Federal taxation should not exceed the requirements of the government economically administered. Now, what the people are anxious to find out is, whether this was merely a tirade of glittering sentiments or whether it was a solemn pledge that the party proposes to redeem. If the former, then let us announce it, so that our constituency can understand that, while we are ready at all times and upon all occasions to abuse and vilify the tariff, when the time arrived for action we became so fascinated by

the lovely creature that we were unwilling to raise our hands to strike a single blow for fear that we might spoil or mar the symmetry of her charms or the beauty of her proportions.

You gentlemen upon the other side of the hall are not in the position that we are in; you promised to do nothing, and you have faithfully kept your promise, and I respect you for it. When your platform declared that the tariff should be revised the people expected nothing from such a declaration, and their expectations have been fully realized. The country is looking to the Democratic party alone for deliverance. The question is, shall we proceed forward to victory and to the post of a nation's honor, or backward to disaster and defeat? We have no right to halt and raise a flag of truce to parley; if that was our intention we ought to have said so upon the floor of the convention. If we expected to be controlled by local interests and to present a divided front and to break up into fragments upon this vital issue, why then our platform was a snare and the emblem on our banner was an artifice and a lie. So far as I am concerned, I am here as the representative of the people, and not of any class or section, and I stand by the terms of the covenant.

I have heard it said that the resolution of the platform calling for revenue reform was the joint product of a high-tariff Democrat and a free-trader; if this is so, then the high-tariff man occupied the position of a fraudulent debtor, who was willing to give his opponent a judgment because he expected to defeat him on the execution. The judgment is recorded, and it contains not a sentence or a

word that breathes an uncertain sound. It is as clear as language can be made to express the thoughts of man. I defy any one present to point me to any utterance on this platform, upon this subject, of doubtful or ambiguous signification. If there is a stroke of diplomacy in it, let some Democrat arise upon this floor and shield himself beneath it. If there is an avenue of escape, let him take it. If it contains a single prop that will sustain the incumbent weight of the existing tariff or that will authorize a Democrat to defend it, let us hear it. The Democratic party issued to the voters of this country revenue-reform notes, upon the strength of which it received their suffrages and came into power as a political party.

The question now is, shall we pay or shall we repudiate? The money is on hand, the paper is maturing a hundred million dollars a year. Shall we meet the issue, or shall we keep on plundering the people and pocketing the funds? I say the time is past for the discussion of questions of political economy. The people at large are now taking very little interest in abstract controversies upon free trade and protection. The thing that they demand is that the government shall stop robbing them, and then they will argue the proposition whether the government has the right to rob them. Does this government need the surplus in order to pay its debts? Not a dollar. Does it require it to pay its expenses? Not a dollar. Well, what is it for? To protect. To protect whom—the people? I deny it. The laboring man? I deny it. The agricultural interests of the country? It is absurd.

Whom, then? Why, centralized wealth that needs no support, sapping the earnings of the poor, and overgrown monopolies that require no protection, draining the life-blood of the country. We might as well meet the issue fairly and squarely and admit that this contest is one between the protected monopolies and protected capital on the one hand and the unprotected people and the unprotected taxpayers on the other, and in this contest I stand with the unprotected people for revenue reform against their financial oppressors.

I am not an extremist upon this subject. I am unwilling, on the one hand, to repeal our present system of import duties, and I am unwilling, on the other, to make custom-house taxation the instrument of enriching the rich and still further impoverishing the poor. Now, does this system impoverish the people and protect those who are not entitled to protection, and whom it is a shame and a crime to protect at the expense, the toil and the suffering of their fellow-countrymen? A patient study of this question in its practical details has satisfied me that it does. Let us admit, for the sake of argument, that protection benefits the owners of your timber lands and your iron fields and the proprietors of your mills and manufactories. Let me ask, has this government gone into permanent partnership with the capitalists of New England and Pennsylvania; and, if so, how long does the government propose to keep on contributing capital to the firm?

The people are becoming poorer all the time and the firm is becoming richer. Every hundred million dollars

that passes into the treasury makes the nation a hundred million dollars poorer and the protected industries a hundred million dollars richer. Is this false or true? If it is false, then protection does not protect. If it is true, then it is a fraud that ought to be swept from the statute book. Who is there here among the people at large or among the unprotected laboring classes in favor of the perpetuation of the present system?

MR. BAYNE. Why, there was a delegation here the other day.

MR. RAYNER. A delegation?

MR. BAYNE. Yes, sir.

MR. RAYNER. Who were they?

MR. BAYNE. They represented the entire Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.

MR. RAYNER. That is a protected industry. I am speaking of those that are not protected. Does not the gentleman know that nineteen-twentieths of the laboring men in this country are employed in pursuits that are not affected by the tariff except detrimentally?

MR. BAYNE. I do not think so.

MR. RAYNER. Well, I know it, and I stand ready with statistics to support that statement. I have never heard one word about that proposition from the other side of the House. I say that five men out of every one hundred of the laboring men of this country are protected and the other ninety-five are taxed to death in order to protect the five.

MR. BAYNE. My friend from Maryland asked whether anybody was here. I merely pointed them out.

MR. RAYNER. That was not the class I was referring to. They were a part of the five who are protected at the expense of the other ninety-five who are not protected.

MR. BAYNE. They were here all the same, and never got a hearing.

MR. RAYNER. Yes, sir; and all of these men are sent here under a deception practiced on them by their employers, that if you reduce the duties on the articles they manufacture it will be necessary then to reduce their wages. I say it is not necessary to reduce their wages; that it is not necessary to strike down a dollar of wages because of the reduction proposed on any article manufactured by these men.

MR. BAYNE. Let me put in the gentleman's remarks that some of these men to whom he refers can come on the floor of this House of Representatives and discuss with members of Congress the tariff question in all its details. I say, sir, they can do that.

MR. RAYNER. I have no doubt of that. I have heard discussions from labor representatives of my own city; I have seen men with as much information upon the subject as I have seen in this Hall, addressing the assemblies and organizations of labor.

But that is not the point to which I am speaking, as to whether these gentlemen can or cannot address the House on questions of political economy, but the question I am dealing with is, should not the men engaged in the industries benefited by the tariff have a share in those benefits? I say that the statistics show that ninety-five

out of every hundred laboring men are employed in industries not affected by the tariff, and I turn you to the tables of our statistician on this point. The question is, what is the proportion which those men who are protected bear to the men who are not protected, the men engaged in the hundred occupations who are entirely untouched by the tariff, except as it raises the price of the food they eat and the clothes they wear?

Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to every scheme that contemplates the yearly and continual appropriation of this surplus towards the purchase or conversion of government securities. I am opposed to such suggestions, because the remedy is only temporary, and because, sooner or later, the issue now before us must be met, and it is as well to meet it now as at any other time. The problem we have on hand is not a financial one at all; it is not one upon which it is necessary to consult the representatives of large moneyed interests, or fiscal agents, or experts, or anything of the kind. Let us return the money to the people, and then we will not encounter any difficulties about the proper application of it. I am opposed to using this money for the purpose of subsidies in any shape. In common with every citizen of this government who has at heart its welfare and its perpetuity, I would like to see an American navy eclipsing the armament of any government on this earth. I would like to see the ports and harbors of this great country aglow with the activity of the mechanic and the inventor to send forth upon the sea not only a merchant marine flying the colors of the republic, but a power that, in time of war, would become the

terror of the ocean, and bid defiance to the squadrons of the world.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, I am willing to subordinate every feeling of national pride to this the paramount issue of the hour, and that is, shall the people day after day be plundered in the interests of monopoly? And shall a lobby, standing at the door of legislation, representing millions of centralized wealth, throttle the appeal that comes up from the bosom of this land, demanding relief from the most inequitable and oppressive system of taxation that is to be found anywhere in any civilized country on this globe? I am opposed at present to any interference with internal revenue taxation.

As much as I feel for the States that it is said will be beneficially affected by such legislation; as deeply as I sympathize with the destitution, the trials and the sufferings of their people; as gratified as I would be to help Virginia and her sister commonwealths in any effort to promote their prosperity and relieve them from the blight which has followed in the track of war, I will never consent to sacrifice the rights of the people of this country for the benefit of any class, or State, or section, and I shall never, with a willing hand, open the floodgates through which the crimson tide of vice and crime shall inundate this land and poison the hearts and desolate the homes of my countrymen.

My friends, if internal-revenue taxation is not to be entirely repealed, if the surplus is not to be squandered, then there is only one course left to pursue, and that is to reduce the surplus by reducing the tariff.

How shall the tariff be reduced? I say strike for the raw materials; select those that can stand the change and will be least affected by it, and then reduce the duty upon every product into which the raw materials enter. I am an advocate of free wool; I would rather see wool upon the free-list than any other of all the four thousand articles named upon the schedules—first, because the tax on wool is the greatest burden upon the consumers of this country of all the hardships and all the burdens imposed by the present tariff, and second, because I firmly believe that, from the moment you make wool free and reduce your duties upon woollen manufactures, from that moment you not only revive one of the greatest departments of industry in our midst, but you will enable the skill and handiwork of the American mechanic and the fabric of the American mills to cross the sea and vie with the manufactured products of every country in all the markets of the world. I wish I had time to enter into a discussion of that matter now, but I have not.

I want to recur for one moment, however, again to the subject of wages in connection with the tariff.

Workingmen of America, do not let demagogues deceive you on this subject! Both parties want your votes; there is no doubt about that. Will you give them to a set of adroit and cunning leaders who are using you for the purpose of benefiting the monopolists whom they represent, or will you follow the party that is making an honest effort to crush the monopolists who have reaped at your expense all the profits and benefits of the protective system? The Democratic party has stood by you and

will continue to do so. The Republican party has always been the ally of centralized wealth, of large moneyed interests, and of corporate rapacity arrayed against the rights of labor. Do not let them frighten you into the belief that your wages will be affected ; they will not be affected to the slightest extent, but on the other hand your cost of living will be reduced, and you will just pay about one-half for the raiment that covers you, for the articles you consume and for the necessities of life.

European labor can never compete with American labor. It is the countries that pay the highest wages that bring forth the cheapest products, and statistics show that the capacity and producing power of the American laborer and the skill of the American mechanic find no peer in any country on this earth. You earn every dollar of your wages, because you produce twice and thrice as much as the laborers of other countries. You are under no obligation to any party for paying you living wages. The law of supply and demand regulates that. And while I am on this subject I defy any one to point me to a single article of all the four thousand on the schedule which requires labor, upon which the American manufacturer does not receive *protection more than three times the difference in wages between the lowest priced labor in Europe and the highest priced labor in America.* Name if you can the product upon which this does not take place. Is it not a fraud and a falsehood to assert that because duties are lowered a trifle so as to give the laborer cheaper clothes and food, that the manufacturer will be compelled to reduce wages with this immense protection

in his favor? Why are not wages higher now in the manufacturing industries? They ought to be, and I will join hands with you in adopting some system to increase them a little. I have stood by the laboring man here and his rights and interests from earnest conviction, while you gentlemen who are now so zealous in his cause have abandoned him in the interests of the monopolist and of Pennsylvania boards of trade and New England trusts.

Mr. Speaker, I appeal to the Democracy here to stand true to its colors. I appeal to them to stand up to the traditions of our party. A tariff for anything else than revenue is outside the traditions and principles of our party, and at war with its pledges and history. It is foreign to our platform.

If you want the Democratic party to live, give it a principle that will sustain it. If you want it to die, stimulate it with a policy foreign to its nature, which will destroy it just as surely as poison will consume the human frame, though it may for a time impart to it the glow of youth and flush of health. A man cannot, at this time, upon this floor, be a Democrat and be in favor of the continuance of the present system. If he is for protection for protection's sake, then he is against his party upon the principal issue that divides the parties.

I deny the right of any Democrat to be controlled by local interests upon this subject. In a few months from now you will be called upon to go before the people again in a fierce struggle for party supremacy. My fellow-Democrats, what do you propose to say in your convention upon the subject of the tariff? What account do you

propose to render to the people of your stewardship? If you break your promise now, do you suppose that they will believe any other promise that you make them? Never. I make no claim to political prophecy, but I believe, that if, under the pressure of local influence, we beat a cowardly retreat now, the party is doomed, and doomed it deserves to be, because a party does not deserve to live that has not the moral courage to stand by its convictions. And let me say to you, that you will not be able to call upon President Cleveland to save the party. The splendid record that he has made will be of no avail. Our sins of omission and our violated vows will be too heavy a burden for any one man to carry. And what will the leaders of the Republican party say? Why, that we nailed a lie upon our banner; that we went through every town and village and hamlet of this land and shouted revenue reform, and pledged our troth to the people to relieve an overburdened treasury of its stolen plunder, but that when the roll was called we took refuge in a sutler's camp and sold our birthright for a mess of pig iron and a herd of sheep.

I am for revenue reform because I am a Democrat; not of that sort of Democracy that gathers its inspiration from the blast furnaces of Pennsylvania or the woolen mills of New England, but a Democracy that can point to Monticello's heights and say that from the day of its birth it has been the mortal enemy of monopoly, and when it strikes it down, as strike it down it will, upon its ruins it will live. Its manhood asserted, its promises fulfilled, and its honor vindicated, it will receive the re-

newed fealty of the people ; but if it yields to the tempter's touch, if it breaks its ranks and locks hands with the monopolists, who have been gathering their iniquitous toll for a quarter of a century at the ports of entry of this Republic, and who are here now infesting the avenues of legislation, then in my opinion its handwriting is on the wall and its destiny is closed, for treachery can never triumph and a lie can never live.

SPEECH

ON REVENUE REFORM AND AGAINST A PROTECTIVE
TARIFF. 52ND CONGRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I arise to say that we ought not to be in the slightest degree restrained by any apprehension that we are wasting time in an attempt to reduce the tariff, and that the bills that the committee has framed will be defeated in the Senate even if passed by the House. I do not believe that this will be the case if the changes are properly formulated; but, even if it were so, I would say let us proceed in the performance of our duty, and again announce to the people the unshaken and steadfast devotion of the party to the cause of tariff reform. The day has arrived when thousands of our countrymen who have been confused, deceived, and intimidated have become instructed and enlightened upon this issue, and have no longer any fear as to the result of a policy which we as a party are pledged to promote and advance whenever we are invested with the power that will enable us to do so.

That we will soon possess this power I have no doubt, and until we do obtain it it becomes our duty to take our place upon the field, and with the weapons of reason and of truth to advance upon the foe, dependent not upon the

mercenaries that we can hire or the recruits that we can draft, but upon the integrity of our purpose and upon the volunteers whom patriotism will direct into our ranks.

Of course monopoly is against us, and from the moment that an attack is made upon it we may expect to see from its citadel its poisoned shafts flying thick and fast. Money, the tremendous power of centralized wealth, is against us. Interest after interest, resolved to perpetuate their partnership with the Government, a partnership that long since should have been dissolved by every constitutional limitation, are combined against us; but with us, greater than the whole opposing combination, stand the people, the unpurchasable people, revolting against a continuance of the present system in every locality where the ballot is undefiled and where a freeman's suffrage is not for sale.

I desire to state with all candor that I believe that the representatives of the Republican party in this House are perfectly sincere in their conviction that a protective tariff is for the best interests of the country and of the various constituencies whom they represent, and in anything that I may say upon this subject I do not desire to be considered for one moment as assailing the motives of any member of the opposition. I want it, however, clearly and mutually understood that we are equally sincere in our determination to resist, by every lawful means within our power, the continuance of this system; that we stand here united, without a single isolated exception, resolved that this shall again be made the paramount issue between the parties; that upon this great field of controversy we

are again willing to meet you in fair and open combat, and that if the same weapons are employed and the same arts of warfare resorted to as have been hitherto used for the purpose of defeating us that no flag of truce shall go up and no compromise shall be offered, but that undaunted and undismayed we will again and again throw down the challenge of discussion until the day will eventually come when the commerce of this great country shall unclasp the fetters that enslave it, when the ranks of labor will no longer be cajoled and led astray by catchwords and by symbols, and when the people shall be liberated and disenthralled.

You, gentlemen, who lashed the McKinley bill through this House, have implored your constituents not to visit upon it a hasty judgment, but to await with patience the beneficent results that you claimed would attend its operation. With the business and agricultural interests of the country suffering and depressed, with wages going down instead of going up, with a dissipated surplus and a plundered Treasury, the patience of the people has become exhausted, and the time has arrived for the striking of a balance and the statement of an account. You say that high tariff lowers prices and raises wages. Now, select the items of this bill and give us the low prices and the high wages that this high tariff has made.

As I understand the situation, you passed this bill in the confident expectation that the country would ratify its enactment; but our presence in this Hall attests the fact that your principals have repudiated your unauthorized contract, and we are now here, not as the agents of

the syndicates and interests that procured its passage, but as the accredited representatives of the people who arose to the confines of this Republic and recalled from this House the majority who forced this legislation upon the country. The actors are gone, but the act still lives upon the statute book. It has been said that this great revolution in public sentiment cannot be attributed to any such a cause as this. It has been charged that the case was not properly presented; that the evidence had not been submitted, and that the verdict was premature.

Mr. Speaker, history has admonished us over and over again that the people have had a habit for a long time in free countries of rendering just such precipitate verdicts as this. They realized that they were not consulted in this business, they were ignored; they were willing to compromise upon easy terms; their overtures were rejected and they rebelled, and the echoes of their rebellious protest are ringing through this Hall summoning us to action. It was charged in the Fiftieth Congress, while the Mills bill was in preparation, that the Democratic committee refused to give a hearing to the monopolists who were interested in the continuance of high duties. Now, I charge that the people never framed a line of the McKinley bill; that in every change upon the schedules it manifests the most supreme contempt of and indifference to their rights, and instead of affording the slightest relief from exacting burdens it aggravates the galling yoke that monopoly has fastened around the consumers of this country.

What can be done about it? I could easily determine this in my own mind if we had the power to pass a bill

in the House and Senate that would give the people relief. I would never trifle piecemeal with the tariff. I would take it up all along the line, and I would give the people every article of necessity and of consumption upon the schedules with as low a duty as it was possible to place upon them consistently with the requirements of Government honestly administered. But we are not in power, and the committee has seen proper to select single items of absolute necessity and importance to the consumer, to send them into the Senate with reduced duties, and upon this plan so formulated my belief is that there is a prospect and a possibility at least of partial relief, and that Senators will not oppose the requirements of their own localities and constituencies demanding lower duties upon the particular articles in which they are interested, and that thus, step by step, by breaking the links that compose it, we may break the chain that is enslaving the commerce and oppressing the homes of our countrymen.

Lower the duties upon the implements of husbandry and the utensils of the farm, and let us see what position the representatives from the great agricultural States of the West will assume upon this question. Take off the infamous duty upon tin plate, and let us see whether the people who consume the canned food products of the East have any influence with the public servants whom they have chosen to represent them. Take the duty off of that grade of South American wool that would vastly cheapen the product of the New England mills, and let us see whether Senators who will not listen to the voice

of the people will not at least make some concession to the manufacturing interests through whose influence they retain their places in the Senate.

But it is said that we must not reopen this question, that it will unsettle the business interests of the country. Let me tell you that they will continue to remain unsettled until the affairs of the people are settled. Whenever we pass such legislation as will meet with the approval of the people, then the business interests of the country are safe; but so long as we permit a favored class of business interests to oppress and plunder the people, so long will they revolt until monopoly is driven from its throne. You talk to me about business interests. Why, this mistaken policy has done more to depress the business interests of the country than every other cause combined.

It has destroyed American shipbuilding by levying an enormous tribute upon Mediterranean ores and until lately by taxing everything that enters into the construction of a ship, as has been well said, from the wire in her stays to the brass in her taffrail log, so that it is impossible for us to compete on the ocean with the vessels that are built upon the banks of the Mersey and the Thames and the Clyde.

The gentleman from Maine the other day dwelt upon the favorable effect that our high protective tariff had upon the wages of the mechanic and the laborer in the protected industries of the country. Upon examination I find no such beneficial results; but, on the contrary, I am reliably informed that at various and numerous

places since the passage of the McKinley bill the effect of this legislation has been to reduce instead of raising the standard of wages.

I am informed, for instance, that in the pottery works of Trenton wages have been cut down 22 per cent. At the Otis Iron and Steel works, at Cleveland, wages have been reduced 30 per cent. At the iron works at Allentown there has been a reduction of 10 per cent. Among the steel-workers at Chattanooga there has been a reduction of 10 per cent. At the Steelton, Bethlehem and Pottstown iron works there has been a similar reduction. Among the ribbon-weavers of Paterson wages have been cut down 15 per cent. Among the spinners of Lowell wages have been largely reduced, and among the Providence weavers a long strike was the only thing that prevented a large reduction in their income.

Thus I could proceed from protected industry to protected industry, and show conclusively the truth of the proposition that I have always contended for, and that is, that our high tariff has had no possible effect upon the standard of American wages, but that the American mechanic earns every dollar of wages that he receives, because he works longer, harder, and more skilfully, as a rule, than any other mechanic in the world.

While these wool and woolen schedules are under consideration by the House, I desire just to say a few words upon them, and that is, that notwithstanding the touching and exquisite pathos with which the gentleman from Maine has dwelt upon the virtues and philanthropy of the woolen manufacturers of this country, the truth is

that the woolen industries, ever since they have been receiving compensatory duties, have been methodically and consistently robbing the farmer; and they, in turn, have been robbed of their rightful profits by being artificially confined to the restricted territory of a home market, when there is no reason on earth why they should not have the markets of every country for the distribution of their products.

Just think of it! Our exports of textiles amount to absolutely nothing, while Great Britain, with free raw materials, is exporting hundreds of millions of woolen goods per annum, and exporting them almost within reach of our shores to the South American republics, with whom, by every law of nature and of commerce, we should have free and unrestricted intercourse. Why is this? I will tell you. Because we are the only civilized nation upon the face of the globe, with the exception of Spain, that levies a tariff duty upon raw materials. And why do we levy this tariff duty upon raw materials; and why can we not make our raw materials free?

I think that I can also tell you that. It is because they are simply a link in the adamant chain of protection that is stretched around this country and that is pressing to death its efforts for prosperity. We can not withdraw a link, because every link is owned by an interest, and they are all bound up in this corrupt combination to such an extent that they are pledged to protect one another. In this system of slavery they are afraid to manumit a single slave for fear that the people,

once realizing what commercial freedom means, would eventually sweep the whole institution from the face of the Republic.

We can not afford to temporize upon this issue. We must maintain the courage of our convictions. It is not a question of policy; it is a question of principle. If we are willing to lower the tariff in everyone else's district, but to keep up the duties in our own, then we might as well ring down the curtain upon the comedy and disband. If we are tariff reformers in each other's districts, but protectionists in our own, we might as well hasten to our homes and let our constituencies send others here who think more of their country than they do of their places.

What is a party without principle? What is it to be a Democrat or Republican, if it is only a question of plunder? And I pray you, what difference is there between the parties at this hour, except that the one is for protection to monopoly and the other is for protection to the people. I challenge you at this moment to eliminate the issue of revenue reform and to give me a single definition that will distinguish the two parties, the one from the other. The Republican party has assumed a bold and defiant stand upon this matter. Let us do likewise and meet them upon the field. They return to their constituents and tell them to their faces, "We will not give you lower prices upon the articles of consumption." Let us return to ours and tell them we shall give them to you if you will only invest us with the power that will enable us to do so.

They came here at the last Presidential nomination and fluttered in this Chamber the emblem of protection to American industries. Now, let us raise the standard of protection to the American consumer, and I predict that from commonwealth to commonwealth it will become the harbinger of victory.

SPEECH

AGAINST "TRUSTS." 52ND CONGRESS.

(EXTRACTS.)

MR. SPEAKER: I desire to call the attention of the House to a Bill on the Calendar to amend an act now upon the statute book, passed during the first session of the fifty-first Congress in reference to Trusts. The amendment seeks to amplify the provisions of the Act and to surround it with penalties more stringent than those which it now contains. With the greatest deference to the distinguished Senator, through whose efforts this measure was passed, in my opinion it does not reach the evil at which it strikes, nor does it accomplish the results that were contemplated by it. It is neither as broad nor as effective as a number of Bills proposed upon the same subject, in the fiftieth Congress, and which I had then the honor of advocating. In fact I might with great respect frankly assert that this law, as it now stands, is of no practical value at all, and has not in any single instance that I know of, prevented the formation of those combinations which it was its purpose to eradicate. They still bloom and flourish; they are still accumulating in every commercial centre of the country; they still defy the law and the jurisdiction and the mandates of the

Courts, and they still with arrogant front and bold pretension, execute their purposes, without the slightest fear of inflicted punishment or the slightest concern about any encroachment upon their prerogative. They are so powerful and influential that the Legislatures of the States seem to tremble at their presence, and in this Congress of the United States we have stood by with folded hands and permitted them, with an iron heel, to trample upon the rights of the people.

It is impossible to form a fair estimate of the power for evil that they exert, unless you follow them closely in the line of their depredations, which we have not now the time to do. When we find, for instance, that a single corporation, crushing out competition in every State of the Union, pays to its stockholders to-day an annual dividend five times as large as the whole capital stock originally invested in its enterprise; when we read the uncontradicted statement, upon reliable authority, that a Trust in the City of Detroit has monopolized four-fifths of all the timber lands in the great timber State of Michigan; when we know, as a fact, that every salt mine upon the American continent is owned by a combine that controls the output of the whole American market; when we cannot purchase a ton of steel or copper, except by paying the enormous tribute exacted by the monopolists, that command their supply and regulate their price; when in the great metropolis of New York a sugar trust, with its franchise dissolved and its charter forfeited, dictates in commanding terms at every home and fireside of the American consumer, the price of an article of abso-

lute necessity; when we realize that the whole system of telegraphic communication between sixty millions of people is virtually in the power of one man, so that the electric current that is ignited upon the coast of Maine flashes to the ocean, and in the whole circuit of its transmission, never crosses a wire that is not the property of the Western Union, I say, when we are confronted with these things, the inquiry naturally suggests itself, how long will a free people submit to their continuance. It is not a question between capital and labor. The man who raises such an issue is an enemy of our institutions, because the laborer of to-day may become the capitalist of to-morrow, and the capitalist of to-day, through adversity and misfortune, may become the laborer of to-morrow. It is a question between honest business enterprise struggling for a livelihood, and these corrupt alliances draining the life-blood from the marts of trade and the avenues of commerce.

A few years ago an individual with limited resources in almost any legitimate line of business, could by thrift and industry, gradually advance his way to the front. To-day these trusts, inflated with concentrated capital, come marching along and bankrupt and crush him to the earth.

If they accomplished any good whatever, I would favor the immediate withdrawal of all opposition to them, and would give them the broadest latitude within which to extend their operations. If by combining the resources of capital, they lowered the prices of consumption; if by creating new enterprises, they enlarged the field of employ-

ment; if they increased the wages of labor; if they contributed in any manner to the welfare or prosperity of the country I say, let them advance with steady step and plant their acquisitions in every commonwealth over the undisputed territory of the Union. But they do no one of these things. They raise prices; they limit production; they lower wages; they contract the demand for labor; they throttle competition; they monopolize the wealth of the land; they withdraw it from the channels of circulation, and in their grasp and greed for profit and for power, they despoil the earnings and impoverish the homes of our countrymen. Worse than all this, they corrupt and bribe the powers that oppose them; they buy their way to favor and to position, and when they are driven from one State, they obtain their franchises in another, and then return, with insolence, to pursue their calling in the place from which they were banished.

Different conventions of Farmers' Alliances and of peoples' parties, in discussing this question, are constantly inquiring into the causes of the unequal distribution of wealth in a country with the vast resources that we have. I think that I can tell you one of the principal causes at least; there is plenty of wealth, and there is a sufficient amount of money, but the money is usurped and the wealth is engrossed in the hands, not of farmers, not of laboring men, not of commercial interests, but of alliances and coalitions that constitute a distinct class from the people, a class that is in partnership with the government, protected by law, fortified by power, and shielded by the influence that with concealed, but cunning hands, they wield in the halls of legislation.

This is not a political question at all ; these combinations have no politics, and have no party ; they are independent, so to speak ; that is to say, whenever they immigrate into a State to ply their vocation, they unite their fortunes with any party that is in power and can give them the right to plunder the people. This is solely a business question, and as such I treat it. If you are all satisfied with the outlook, why then let us make no attempt to change existing conditions. So far as I am concerned, I am not satisfied with the prospect at all, because I have looked for some time upon this state of affairs as one of the greatest dangers that threaten us, and I feel the deepest interest in this subject. When I look around in my own State and other places and observe that whenever a new enterprise is started that comes in conflict with these trusts, that they sweep down upon it, as the cormorant does upon his prey, and that their rapacity is never appeased so long as there is a spark of vitality left in any competitor that crosses their path, I cannot leave this Hall without at least making an attempt to bring them to surrender or to terms. I plead with you for help. The States, impotent beyond their territorial lines, possess not the power to thwart them. We do. A State can drive them from one jurisdiction to another : we can drive them from every jurisdiction in the land. Under the power to regulate commerce between the States, we can lay a constitutional embargo upon their products, and exterminate them from the face of the Republic. We can accomplish it in a few lines, by declaring in unmistakable language that production shall not be limited,

that fair competition shall not be suppressed, and that the prices of consumption shall not be raised or agreed upon by these alliances against the people. Will we do it? Shall we hesitate and halt with irresolute purpose expressed in ambiguous phrase, or shall we with clear and manifest intention declare them to be what they are, the spurious offspring of an unlawful commerce; a commerce not only forbidden by Act of Parliament, but inhibited, from the earliest adjudications of the common law. We cannot avoid this contest; we may postpone it; we may retard it, and we may adjourn it, but the day will come when the people will no longer be deceived by any such pretext and subterfuge as is now upon the statute book.

The question is, are we with the unprotected people or with their protected oppressors? Are we with the business interests of the country or with the combines that are poisoning the veins and arteries of trade and commerce? Are we here in the interest of the great constituencies whom we represent, or are we here to retreat before the advance of a lobby, who, whenever a Bill of this sort is introduced, standing upon the high-ways of legislation, infest by their corrupt presence, the galleries and the corridors of this capitol, the mercenary agents, whose very appearance in opposition to a measure demonstrates its merit and indicates the necessity of its enactment. I might be wrong, but if I am, it is a mistake that does not arise from any want of conviction upon the subject. If I am wrong, repeal this Act which is the ridicule and the derision of the interests which it was intended to dismantle and destroy. If I am right, make

the offense so plain and prescribe such penalties for its commission as will force them from the citadels of their strength.

If we will reform this useless statute, if we will breathe into it a living purpose, if we will inspire it with an intelligent legislative design that the Courts can interpret and construe and render capable of enforcement and execution, I believe that now in the hour of peace, without violating a single contractual obligation, without unsettling capital in any of its rightful acquisitions, without disturbing the slightest fragment of a vested right, we can compel monopoly to lower its standard, we can compel it to recognize the rights of its victims, who have been prostrated beneath its ruinous policy, and as in former days the merchant guilds and the craft guilds of England, through their representatives, the Bishops and the Barons, compelled an English King, with reluctant hand, upon the field of Runnymede to sign the parchment of English liberty, so the business honor and the commercial integrity of this country, speaking through their representatives in Congress here assembled, can compel monopoly to restore them to their ancient possessions, and can drive it from the throne, which it has erected upon the wants of penury and the toil of unrequited labor.

OPENING SPEECH

IN THE CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1890 AT
CONCORDIA OPERA HOUSE.

MR. PRESIDENT, *Ladies and Gentlemen:* In opening this canvass I desire to say to you that I have never felt as much interest in any political contest as I do in the discussion of the issues that are at this time presented to us. I hope you will not consider that this is altogether a selfish interest, inspired by my own candidacy, for I am very frank to say that until a brief period before the meeting of the convention I had almost concluded not to enter upon the field of politics again, but to continue to devote myself, at least for the present, exclusively to the practice of a profession which is more in line with my inclinations and ambition, perhaps, than any honors that I could gain in any other calling. There was, however, a sentiment connected with this matter which had its influence upon me, as it would have had upon others, in arriving at a determination. To have been defeated for a re-election to Congress upon the threshold of a second term, when the work that I had assigned to myself had hardly been planned and could not possibly have been executed, was not only an unpleasant remembrance to carry through the future, but

in places where the causes were unknown might be regarded as a reflection upon the record that I had made, and as evidencing the dissatisfaction of my constituents with the course that I pursued while acting as their Representative. I take the liberty of saying that I do not believe that this was the case, but that, on the contrary, in advocating the cause of tariff reform, in opposing the centralization of political power in the hands of the federal government, and the centralization of unlawful profits in the hands of combinations of capital organized to depreciate the wages of the laborer and advance prices to the consumer, I believe that I was truly voicing the sentiments of the Democracy of this district, and, so believing, I have again entered the contest, actuated by the same motives, animated by the same impulses and pledged to press these principles on, in the hope that the day is close at hand when the sturdy revolt of patriotism and intelligence will deliver us from the yoke of a political despotism, which, if it is permitted to continue, will eventually change the character of our institutions and deprive the people of the sovereign right to rule themselves.

PRESENT ATTITUDE OF THE TWO PARTIES.

We are approaching a critical period of our history, and it requires the soundest statesmanship to successfully solve the problems that confront us. For over a quarter of a century the Republican party has been gradually advancing to the point that it has now attained, and its position is so unmistakably plain that there is no longer

any excuse for an American citizen, endowed with and understanding the rights of his citizenship, to mistake or misunderstand the situation. If any doubt there was, the proceedings of the present Congress have quieted it. If any ignorance existed, the attitude of the Republican party in the present Congress has dispelled it; and if there was any confusion in the mind of any one as to the ultimate aims and purposes of the Republican party, the insolent and defiant front of its recognized leaders in the Senate and House have cleared the way with such accuracy and precision that the time has arrived when men must take their stand with one party or the other; when the words "Democrat" and "Republican" have as well defined a meaning as the words "Liberal" and "Conservative" have in the political history of Great Britain at the present day, and when there is no more similarity between the principles contended for by Reed and by Ingalls and the principles of Cleveland and of Carlisle than there is between the principles of Balfour and Salisbury on the one hand and those of Gladstone and of Parnell upon the other. The Republican party is the party of the government; the Democratic party is the party of the governed. The Republican party insists upon it that the people must be taxed in order to enrich the interests that contribute to Republican success; the Democratic party contends that the people shall not be taxed beyond the necessities of government economically administered. The Republican party believes that political power should be augmented in the nation and weakened in the states; the Democratic party believes

that by upholding the reserved power of the states and jealously guarding it from usurpation the Union becomes stronger in the loyalty of the people. The Republican party believes that national legislation should supplant local sovereignty upon all questions that affect the nation ; the Democratic party, in the impending crisis, plants itself upon the doctrine of home rule for the states, in obedience to the constitution, and from the tyranny of the House and from the tyranny of its Speaker, from the rancorous proceedings of its packed committees, from New England fanaticism, from the frantic partisanship of Lodge and of Rowell, of Chandler and of Hoar, it appeals to the conservative sentiment of the American people. And if I mistake not the temper of my countrymen, when this appeal is heard, the verdict will be reversed, the principles of constitutional government as taught by Jefferson and Madison, and exemplified by Cleveland, will be restored, and the conspirators who have combined to defeat the will of the people will be banished from the places that they have dishonored and disgraced.

SPEAKER REED AND HIS POLICY.

I challenge you to examine the proceedings of any parliamentary body in any civilized country and find a parallel to those that have characterized the present session of the American Congress. Go to the English House of Commons, or to the German Parliament, or to the Chamber of Deputies, and find me, if you can, any one who has dared to assume the power that the present

Speaker of the House of Representatives has arrogated to himself. Where is his prototype or his imitator? Among the illustrious line of his predecessors he stands isolated and alone—a despot without a qualm of conscience, a dictator without a feeling of mercy. At any other stage of our history his unbending tyranny and corrupt partisanship, approved of as it has been by his party, would have fanned the flames of revolution in the hearts of an indignant people, but circumstances are such that we submit in anger, yet in patience, awaiting with confidence the arbitrament of the ballot, the strongest weapon that freemen can wield. The Republican party, in order to prolong its power in the House of Representatives, required a Speaker who had no political scruples of any sort, who was perfectly willing to appoint corrupt committees and render corrupt rulings whenever he could benefit his party by so doing, and who possessed the nerve to trample upon the rights of the minority without the slightest regard for the criticism of friend or foe. Mr. McKinley was not so constituted; Mr. Reed was. With the nerve of the devil and the composure and tranquillity of a saint, he filled this bill in every respect. The man himself is a remarkable product of New England institutions. As cold as a glacier and as impervious as the granite hills among which he lives, no one can approach him unless in blind submission to his will. Thoroughly disliked by his own party colleagues, he has, by sheer force of his prowess and ability, compelled them to cower beneath him, and he has lashed them into obedience, like quarry slaves scourged to their

dungeons. McKinley, Cannon, Henderson and Butterworth, partisans as they are, detest him ; yet they cringe to him as the Eastern worshiper cringes to the fetish that his hands have made, with this difference, that when they bite the dust they do it not with reverence, but with resentment and contempt for the spirit whom they have conjured into power to rule over and oppress them.

THE RECORD OF THE PRESENT CONGRESS.

Let us glance now briefly at the record that this singular and extraordinary person has made for himself and his party in the present Congress. The very first step at the threshold of the session was revolutionary. There were no rules governing the House, and Mr. Reed, instead of pursuing the precedents and system that had been recognized ever since the adoption of the Constitution, promulgated a code of his own—a code subversive of the principles of republican government—a code that annihilates every right of the minority ; that stifles debate ; that silences the voice of the representatives of the people, and that places in the hands of an unscrupulous Speaker a wand with which he can conjure up legislation, and a sceptre with which he can strike down every opposition to his despotic will, and every protest and appeal from his arbitrary rulings. He was not embarrassed in the slightest degree by his failure to find a precedent. On the contrary, instead of being deterred, he was encouraged ; instead of halting when his error was made apparent, and he saw his own party trembling at the boldness

of his innovation, he became determined to override every obstacle, to reject all overtures, and to execute to the finish the novel and desperate plan that he had formulated. Had the Democratic minority, in a body, left the House of Representatives, so as no longer by their constructive presence to have afforded an excuse for this invasion of their rights, I believe the country would have justified their conduct ; but, under the conservative leadership of Carlisle, they selected another course, a policy of submission to a great wrong and a great crime—a crime which, when it is analyzed and exposed, as now it surely shall be in every district in this land, will be found to surpass in magnitude the crime through which, in 1876, the Presidency of the United States was deliberately stolen from the people, and the citizens of two great commonwealths robbed of their electoral votes by the same party that has never yet hesitated to encroach upon every constitutional barrier and strike down every constitutional safeguard that crossed its progress in its frantic march to office and to power.

HOW REPUBLICANS KEPT PROMISES.

I entirely agree with Mr. Reed, however, that no one can charge the Republican party with a failure to keep its promises. On the contrary, it has faithfully kept every pledge that it made. It promised the monopolists that the tariff should not be reduced ; it promised New England ship-builders to subsidize their ships ; it promised Western mine-owners to purchase their bullion ; it

held out an assurance to Southern carpet-baggers that they could successfully contest for seats in Congress and that it would enact such legislation as would enable them to hold their places in defiance of the people's will ; and to its political pawnbrokers, like Wanamaker, it promised to make quick acquittance, with high interest, of every campaign collateral that lay bundled up under the coat-of-arms of Lombardy, awaiting the hour of its redemption. Every one of its obligations has been liquidated. The barons of the home market have been gratified beyond measure ; their ravenous hunger has been appeased ; prices have been raised ; wages have been lowered, and the toil of 60,000,000 people pays tribute to their greed. The dockyards of Maine have been renovated, and a merchant marine without any commerce to carry will soon gambol upon the billows at so much a nautical mile. The treasury has opened its hospitable vaults to the silver kings of Montana and Colorado, and they come, not, however, like the Queen of Sheba came to Solomon, but with arms full of depreciated coin in exchange for government gold and legal tender ; and to the carpet-bagger the doors of Congress have been opened, and Southern representatives, coming from the best constituencies in the land, have been, with indecent haste, turned down the aisles of Congress and their places filled with men who are a shame and a reproach upon the institutions of our country. Thus, as Mr. Reed, in his spirit of self-exaltation claims, has the party's word been kept, and thus it goes before the people, boasting of the fulfillment of its covenant.

There is one fact that I desire to impress upon you, and that is that the Republican party did not make any promises to the people. The people, therefore, have no right to be disappointed. You will find its platform redundant with promises to the classes, but you will search it in vain for any promises to the masses. When Mr. Reed, therefore, vauntingly asserts that the Republican party has canceled its bond, he means precisely what he says; for the legislation that it has furnished is class legislation, purchased and paid for by the classes in whose interest it was passed. I mean by this no figure of speech, but that an actual contract was made under which so much money was to be furnished upon the one side and so much legislation was to be enacted upon the other. The money has been paid, and the legislation has been forthcoming. It has, therefore, kept its promise in the literal and legal acceptance of the term. This is so confessedly true that it will not be publicly denied, because the proof of the bargain and sale, the names of the depositaries and beneficiaries, and substantially the amounts and figures are forthcoming in support of the charge. Now, whenever a deal of this character is consummated, some one is necessarily the victim. Who has been sacrificed in this instance? Why, the people. Oppressive burdens have been imposed upon them, and a galling yoke has been placed around their neck, and upon their bowed bodies monopoly has erected its golden throne, and mounting it, as Nero played amid the burning ruins of Rome, it whiles away its hours of luxurious ease, while the fires that it has fanned are

raging from heart to heart and home to home—hours that will speed like the lightning's flash the moment that the flames reveal to the intelligence and to the patriotism of the American people the havoc and destruction it has caused.

THE PEOPLE'S BURDEN.

Looking at the arrogant insolence of the monopolists, with their unbending grip upon every product that God and nature gave to man, one would suppose that Providence had decreed that this vast empire, from sea to sea, should belong to them, and that by virtue of their eminent domain they should have the royal right to lock us out from intercourse with mankind. They close upon us the great highways of the ocean and tell us that our flag shall not cross the sea, and if it does it does so at its peril, because they have swung the pirate's ensign from every port of entry on this earth, and proclaimed with blazing letters that America shall not trade with the nations of the world, so that monopoly might thrive at home. They have shut us out from the North and from the South, so that the Western prairie man to-day cannot buy a plank of Canadian lumber except with the permission of a syndicate that has monopolized four-fifths of the lumber lands in the lumber State of Michigan, and not a pound of South American wool can cross our shores except at the price that a woolgrower's combination, in commanding terms, dictates to an American Congress. Who has been benefited by all this? Labor? I deny it. The

day will come, and quick at that, when it will realize how it has been imposed upon. I say to you to-night that with an average protection more than five times the difference between home and foreign labor, it is a rare thing that a New England operative has been able to accumulate a sufficient sum to buy or build a home, and while the price of stumpage and of lumber lands has risen 300 per cent. in the protected lumber fields of Michigan the wages of the man who fells the trees and hauls the cordage has depreciated to such an extent that, while Mr. Alger, at the head of the lumber syndicate, was laying down last winter to the House of Representatives a tariff schedule to protect his industry, the laborer who makes his profits for him was destitute and starving in untenanted forest wilds, amid the rigors of a Western winter. This is protection to American industries, and this is the principle that hundreds and thousands of laboring men marched to the polls to support. I believe that they now see the error of their ways. With wages going down instead of going up, with the prices of consumption going up instead of going down, the truth has been revealed and the spirit of intelligent revolt has been aroused. I hear from my friends all along the line that the skilled mechanic of the Northern mills and the experienced laborer of the Pennsylvania furnaces are putting this conundrum to their employers: Where is the fulfillment of your broken promises? You led us to the polls like cattle to the shambles, and pledged us that Republican success meant a higher scale of wages and an end of lockouts and strikes. Now, where is the

scale and where is the end? You have petitioned Congress from year to year to run the duty up because you claimed the difference between the price of home and foreign labor. Now let us have this difference. This is the proclamation, my friends, that is ringing through the New England mills; and I tell you, as an observant historian once said, that all the great political and economical reforms come in from the country towns, so this reform, commencing where this system has been most abused, from Massachusetts and New Hampshire villages, where its beneficiaries have been growing richer and its victims have been growing poorer, will start upon its mission, and it will gradually sweep through every place where intelligent labor is employed, until the day will come when, through the medium of a free and untrammelled ballot, this whole system will be reformed at the hands of those who have been its dupes and its victims.

THE MCKINLEY TARIFF BILL.

Let us look for a moment a little closer into this measure, falsely called a bill to reduce the revenue. When this land was rent with civil war, and enormous sums were required to support the armies and navies of the Union, a gentleman arose upon the floor of Congress and announced the principle that the people must have the necessities of life and the government must have money, and, therefore, the highest duties should be levied upon the greatest necessities. To-day another gentleman arises upon the floor of Congress and proclaims that the sur-

feited monopolists of the North are knocking at the doors of legislation and demanding the continuance of their partnership with the government, which, I say, should have long since been dissolved by every constitutional limitation, and in order to gratify them we must impose a tax not for the purpose of revenue, not for the purpose of revenue with incidental protection, not for the purpose of protection alone, but a tax that by the imposition of prohibitive duties makes the nation absolutely dependent upon them for support, and gives them by force an entrance into the home and fireside of every American consumer. The principal thing demanded by the people, for instance, was cheaper wool. You shall not have it, said Mr. Columbus Delano, the president of the Wool Growers' Association, and Congress bowed in suppliance to his decree—a decree that, setting aside the natural laws of trade and commerce, raises the price of every cloth and every blanket worn and used by the American consumer. Then, following upon the trail of Mr. Delano, appeared the woolen manufacturers, demanding that if the price of the raw material was raised, additional duties must be levied upon the lower grades of woolen goods. Of course, says the committee, why not? No one objects to this except the people, and we are not here legislating for those who wear the wool, but for those who sell it; we are here to adjust and equalize the revenues between the wool and woolen men. Then arises a Republican Senator from Kansas, and startles his party colleagues with this suggestion: There is one thing, says he, that we can give the people without breaking our promises to the

monopolists, and that is cheaper food. The great West demands it. Let us keep down the price of tin, and thus gratify the people who consume the packed and canned food products of the East, and at the same time keep up the wages of the establishments that produce them. Oh! no, you shall not, says a Senator from Dakota. I hold in my hand a geological report that predicts at some future day the appearance of a tin-mine in the bowels of the annex, whose interests I represent upon this floor, and I demand protection for this invisible industry, struggling in the womb of Nature to be free. You shall have it, says the committee. There are no canning establishments in any Republican strongholds that we know of, and we must protect your "rotten borough" against the Cornwall mines that now supply our market; but see to it that in the next campaign the proprietors of these phantom fields of tin contribute with a liberal hand toward the great crusade of protection, as it marches from sea to sea. Then another Republican Senator, goaded on by his suffering constituency, timidly arises from his seat, and, with faint heart, inquires whether a little lower duty could not be levied upon the implements of husbandry and the utensils of the farm. What! says the Senator from Connecticut. Is the farmer here protesting? He ought to be the happiest man on earth, living in luxurious ease, amid his sunlit fields and vine-clad hills. But, says the Senator from Nebraska, every blade of grass upon these sunlit fields is mortgaged to swell the profits of your trusts that control the product of the Norwich and New Haven mills. A mortgage! says the

Senator from Connecticut, and does the farmer object to being mortgaged? A mortgage when compared with all the blessings that this high tariff has poured into his bosom, ought to be a thing of joy forever, and should not be permitted to raise its spectral head in protection's banquet halls. Now, my friends, I say let the dance go on; let the revelry proceed. A mighty cyclone is rising in the West. Intelligence is spreading upon the wings of lightning. At every country store and farm-yard, at every country court and cross-road, this economic system is being arraigned by those whom it has impoverished and bankrupted. As the laborer in the East is awakening to the realities of the situation, so the farmer in the West has at last found the key to his misfortunes, a key that has closed the gates of commerce to the products of his farm and locked him out from the markets of the world. So far as I am concerned, I plead for the emancipation of American commerce. Free it, and the ships will spring into existence without bounties and without subsidies to carry it across the sea. I, for one, shall hail the day, not when we will deal upon terms of reciprocity with the governments of Spain and Brazil and the Dominion of Canada, but when the flag of the Union shall be flying from the masthead in every port of entry of the civilized globe, and when the handiwork of the American mechanic, now fettered and manacled like the slave in the Moslem market, languishing for want of light and freedom, shall be exposed in every bazaar and emporium where skill and ingenuity are appreciated and rewarded, a successful competitor for the markets of the world, and

when, by lowering our own tolls, the ports of foreign countries shall be open for the traffic and commerce of this great continent, as God intended they should be.

RAPE OF THE BALLOT-BOX BY CONGRESS.

After this iniquitous bill had been passed by the House, what was the next step in the conspiracy against the people? Not content with admitting into the Union the mining camps of Idaho and the cattle ranches of Wyoming, and placing them upon an equality with the Empire State of New York; not satisfied with seating in the Senate two political adventurers from the State of Montana in defiance of its legislative will and its organic law; not satisfied with swelling the pension list to such an enormous figure so that it surpasses to-day the total cost of supporting the standing armies of the German Empire; not content with bankrupting the Treasury for the benefit of the silver kings of Colorado and the tariff kings of New England; not discouraged with the perpetration of any one of these abuses, a revolutionary programme was determined upon, which, for the criminality that characterizes it, surpasses the whole record of the infamous legislation that preceded it. The rape of the ballot-box by Congress is a crime not spoken of in the Constitution or the statutes, but one which strikes a death-blow at the honor of the republic. When Wise, who, without the slightest pretext of right or justice, was sent back to his people, is returned by Virginia; when Breckinridge, whose seat was declared vacant by a packed

committee, upon its own gratuitous motion, is returned by Arkansas; when Compton, whose place was promised to his opponent long before the evidence in his case was heard, again represents his district, and when the whole cohort of Democratic victims from other States in unbroken line march up the aisles to take the oath of office, taunting by their presence the tyrant who dispossessed them with the recollection of his misdeeds, then, and not until then, will the rape of the ballot-box by Congress be avenged and the virtue of the republic be vindicated.

THE COERCION BILL.

What was the final scene in this tragedy that has been played before the nation? We will do our own registration, our own counting and our own certification, says the autocrat of the House. No, you shall not, says the Democracy of the Union. You may do your own certification, and your own falsification, and your own bribing, and your own corrupting in your own district, but you shall not do it in any sovereign state controlled by Democratic votes. You may pass your rules, you may pack your committees, you may go out into the street and count a constitutional quorum, you may unseat the people's representatives, you may stifle debate, you may suppress the voice of the minority: but, Mr. Speaker, the reports are coming in from signal stations all along the line predicting that early in November a mighty hurricane will sweep this land, and that your party, with all its deputy marshals and supervisors and coercion

bills, will be buried beneath the violent fury of the storm. What is this coercion bill, and who is the triumvirate that framed it? Hoar and Rowell, and Lodge, the scholar and the biographer. If he be a fair specimen, then may Heaven protect us from the student in politics, for there is no act of political injustice that he could not strain his sensitive Puritan conscience to approve of. From the time that he was rocked in the cradle by the lullaby of "John Brown's Body Lies a Moldering in the Grave" every inspiration that he has drawn has been one of hatred against the people of the South. I say, What is this bill? It is claimed that it is an honest bill in the interest of a free ballot and a fair count. I say that it is a dishonest bill, in the interest of a false ballot and a fraudulent count. I hold in my hand the instrument of torture, and it does not contain an honest line or an honest sentence. What is the use of our discussing its constitutionality? A political court of supreme authority has made for us a new constitution that bears not the slightest resemblance to the constitution formed by Washington, by Madison and by Randolph. This infamous measure defiantly announces to the States that, "We will register your voters, we will supervise your elections, we will count your votes, and if the returns of your regularly-constituted authorities differ from ours, we will provide a partisan board to supersede your judges, and the certificate of this board shall be the passport to Congress, from which no appeal shall lie. If you disobey this law you shall be tried before Republican judges and packed Republican juries, and if there

is any conflict of authority between the State and Federal powers, then the armies of the Union shall be called in to take possession of the polls." The coercion bills that the British Parliament has, time and time again, passed to subdue the spirit of the Irish people are mild and temperate compared with this desperate scheme. It means destruction to the South. It means that her career of prosperity is to be checked and her spirit of enterprise prostrated; it means that her territory is to be infested by an army of political vagrants, who will commit more havoc than all the embattled ranks of war; that local governments are to be overthrown, and that upon their ruins a band of roving plunderers, wandering from place to place and robbing the treasury of every State into which they immigrate, are to be invested with the robes of office. Look at this bill, with its unlimited number of United States marshals, with its life-tenure supervisors, with its enormous corruption fund for every Congressional district, with its partisan commissioners to select juries, and with juries organized and packed to convict, and tell me whether you propose, patiently, to submit to this infliction. This bill is not dead by any means. Do not make the mistake of supposing that it is dead. It is asleep, and the ugly spirits of Chandler and Rowell, of Edmunds and of Hoar, are hovering over it in its dreams. We must never permit it to wake up. If once it rises from its slumber, it will crush within its fangs the liberties of the people. I say, fight it by every parliamentary device and strategy, by every recourse that ingenuity can conceive of, by every lawful method

and contrivance. Let it be proclaimed upon the floor of every Democratic convention, upon every hustings, at every public assembly where freemen convene to assert their rights, that the shackles of this cruel burden shall not be fastened upon the South. The country is with us upon this issue. Intelligence is with us, patriotism is with us. A press that accepts no bribe and cannot be subsidized by patronage is with us. There is no one opposed to us except a band of New England fanatics, who are keeping vigil over it in its repose. They will watch it with anxious solicitude until the sun goes down upon the fourth of this November, and then, when they hear the ringing thunders of a people's protest, like cowards they will leave it and abandon it to its fate, for I tell you that the same blasts of victory that will proclaim to the country that the House of Representatives has again fallen under Democratic control will re-echo to the confines of this republic the death-knell of this treasonable plot against the welfare of the nation.

BATTLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

I have briefly discussed the issues that are before us. I can condense the whole situation by saying that this is a battle for constitutional government. We want to know when the Constitution provides that the powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the states what that means. Does it mean anything? Is it merely a high-sounding sentiment, or does it mean what Marshall and Taney declared it meant, for over a half a

century, by the most solemn adjudications of the court over which they presided? We want to know when the Constitution says that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises what that clause means. Does it mean that Congress can tax the people for the expenses of government economically administered, or does it mean that it can tax them for the sole purpose of gratifying the extortionate demands of monopoly? When the Constitution says that Congress may make or alter the time, place and manner of holding elections, what does this mean? Does it mean what for a hundred years it has been supposed to mean, that Congress shall have the right to provide the machinery of election when the states fail to do so, or does it mean that Congress can abrogate the election machinery of the states and override and supersede their statutes and organic laws? We thought that all these questions were long since settled, and we have been willing to abide by the interpretation of the Constitution as it has been handed down to us by those who framed it. But a new school of latter-day saints, a salvation band, led by Hoar and Blair and Reed and Lodge, with incantations upon their lips and imprecations in their hearts, are chanting a new constitution for us. They claim a special revelation, and that a new interpretation has been transmitted to them, and that the people of these United States whom God ordained should rule themselves, must bow down and worship the tablets of centralization and the idols of protection which have been delivered to them amid the thunders of some New England mountain. We want

this question decided. Which is the correct version, the old Constitution or the revised edition? Are we a union of states, or are we the proprietary colonies of the Republican party? We want the people to decide this question. We will not trust the Supreme Court, the interpreter of the Republican party. The people made the Constitution; now let them construe it; not by the bayonet, not by force, not by the tread of armed battalions, not by the conflict of contending hosts, but by the commanding votes of freemen, and the supreme authority of the ballot-box. If the verdict of the ballot is against the relentless fanatics who are in custody of this measure, then they may pass their coercion bills thick and fast, and the people will trample upon them with an iron heel, because they dare not legislate against the sovereign voice of a majority of American citizens. The British Parliament tried this. Eighty-six coercion bills were passed to destroy the individuality of the Irish people. What did her leaders do? They took a solemn vow, by the memory of O'Connell and of Emmet, that they would never abandon the cause of Irish freedom. They planted themselves upon the memorable declaration of Curran, who, in 1798, when the bayonets were leveled at his breast, proclaimed to his tormentors: "You may assassinate me, but you shall not intimidate me." Let us follow his example. Let us take a solemn vow by the memory of him who framed for us the charter of our liberties and whose ashes sleep upon the lonely mountain heights, that the Constitution of our country shall not be desecrated and trampled upon, and as Ireland, in the hour of her suspense and trial,

confidently leans upon the heroic form of Charles Stewart Parnell, her second liberator, so let us look to him who is spreading consternation among corruption's ranks wherever his plume appears—Grover Cleveland, the unpurchasable tribune of the people.

We are at the threshold of a contest for the Constitution that sooner or later will involve the very life of this republic. I believe that if the Republican party continues in its career unchecked, it will finally hold within its grasp the shattered links of this solemn covenant among the States. It is to-day so distorted and disfigured that the patriots who framed it would hardly recognize it as their offspring. We are the Democracy of the Constitution; we must gather around it and preserve it inviolate and unprofaned. We must watch it as the Roman sentinels watched the altars of the Roman Temple; and if, in the hour of peace, without infringing upon a vested right, we can, once and for all time to come, impress upon the people that this instrument must be kept intact as handed down to us by Madison and Randolph, by Mason and by Pinckney and by Rutledge, and if I can be of the slightest service in the accomplishment of this mission, I, for one, shall be sufficiently compensated if I never receive another honor at the hands of my countrymen.

SPEECH

UPON THE BILL FOR A "NATIONAL QUARANTINE."
53RD CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER: I think that we all agree upon the proposition that something should be done to avert, if possible, the threatened presence of pestilence upon our shores during the coming Summer, and I believe that while we are providing for temporary security that we ought to adopt some permanent plan to protect us in the future from the continual danger to which we will be exposed. It would be impossible to estimate the sacrifice that we would incur and the injury that would be inflicted upon us if this deadly scourge that has lately depopulated one of the greatest commercial centres upon the continent of Europe should gain an entrance into our territory. War or famine would prove far less destructive, because against war we could defend and against famine we might seek deliverance through the relief and benevolence of mankind. I do not want to create any false apprehensions upon this subject, but with the tide of immigration that is pouring in upon us at every port of entry, the best authorities unite in predicting that it is impossible to lie idly by and evade or escape this trouble. If we adopt no pre-

ventive remedies, if we look heedlessly on without any combined efforts at resistance, if with all its horrors staring us in the face we defy it to approach us, if we are willing to take our chances and rely upon temporary devices and expedients when the emergency is upon us, then it will be a miracle if we escape and I am almost tempted to say it will be a just punishment if it overtakes us. From one end of this land to the other, from every chair and faculty where medical science is taught, from every hospital and university where sanitary laws are practiced and respected, with one concurrent voice we are told that it is within our power, absolutely within our power to avoid this disaster and to keep it from our homes. I shall not consume the time of this House in discussing our constitutional power to provide a national quarantine and to protect the public health. The right to regulate commerce carries with it the fullest power that is necessary for that purpose. I believe not only in the power but in the imperative duty of the Federal Government to assume jurisdiction over this matter. I would curtail every unnecessary expense in order to provide for the creation, the equipment and the maintenance of a system of maritime sanitation that would render the presence of this dread calamity impossible in our midst. Mr. Speaker, if we are unwilling to do this it is far better to suspend immigration until all danger from infection is removed, than to have the refuse population of Europe roaming through our cities carrying with them the germs of this malady that only await a propitious season to disseminate their poison among a people now blessed with health and fortune.

There are two classes of emigrants that come to this country, the one class is a blessing and a benefit, the other is a detriment and an injury. This country was intended as an asylum for the down-trodden and oppressed who are in sympathy with our institutions, but it never was contemplated that we should become a place of refuge for those who do not believe in any institutions, who are the disciples of lawlessness, who have been educated in the schools of anarchy and disorder, and who come here simply because they are under the impression that this being a free country, it will afford them a license to put their pernicious principles into practice. We might as well have plain and candid words upon this subject. I have no fear about expressing my honest convictions in reference thereto, because a number of these helpless wanderers, whom despotism is lashing over every frontier in Europe and driving in upon us, have my warmest and deepest sympathy.

As strongly, however, as I feel about this matter, I do not believe that we ought to become the receptacle for the vices, the crimes and diseases that are draining in upon us from the continent of Europe. Last Summer a foreign steamship company cleared one of its vessels from an infected port, and with a living sepulchre beneath her decks entered the harbor of New York with flying colors, utterly regardless of the hundreds of thousands of human lives that were being imperiled at the port of her destination. Had it not been for the heroic methods pursued by the officer in charge of the sanitary department of that city, there is no foretelling what disaster may have

been inflicted upon our people. The master of this ship was willing to conceal the presence of the disease and actually to tie his vessel to the dock and distribute his cargo and steerage in utter defiance of the quarantine laws of the State and of the maritime code of nations. This one instance demonstrates how utterly powerless the maritime States, with their best methods and appliances, would be to protect themselves and the inland States from this invasion. Now the only question is, are we willing to take the risk, refuse the trifling outlay of preparation and hazard an issue with the inexorable laws of contagion and pestilence that fear no foe except science and know no barrier except a sanitary dead line. If you follow the track of this disease, you will find that, starting in the tropical latitudes of central Asia, where sanitary science is entirely unknown, it has crossed the mountain, the desert and the sea, and has with unheralded rapidity made its appearance in the great capitals of Europe where human skill has for centuries in vain strained every effort to arrest its progress. Last Summer, without a moment's warning, it entered the gates of one of the fairest cities upon the continent of Europe, and during months of untold anguish and sorrow it strode like a destroying angel from door to door of its afflicted people, the highways of traffic were closed, commerce was prostrated, and half a million of human beings were isolated from intercourse with mankind. The slightest precaution would have avoided this catastrophe. I am in favor of preventive and not remedial measures, and I call upon this House not to adjourn without heeding the appeal that

comes to us from almost every school of medicine, from every chamber of commerce, and from every board of trade and board of health to quarantine the coast and to place in the hands of the Revenue Marine service the peremptory power to pass rules and regulations with which the States shall have no more right of interference than the militia of the States would have a right to interfere with the regular army in protecting our coast from the invasion of a foreign foe. This is a power of all powers that this government ought to possess. No doubt or uncertainty should surround it. I am opposed to leaving it to the States, this only means conflict and contention, and above everything else I am opposed to presenting to our people the awful policy of inaction. If the blight of this scourge should come upon us, in those hours of despair when the whole world becomes our enemy, when its hospitable ports are closed upon us, when there is no relief until nature exhausted by the number of its victims runs its deadly course, I would never forgive myself if, when the occasion was present, I had failed to sound an alarm, which might have awakened this House to a proper sense of its responsibility and might have rescued the homes of our countrymen from the peril of this infliction.

SPEECH

IN DEFENSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY IN REGARD
TO HAWAII AND UPON ANNEXATION AND THE
MONROE DOCTRINE. 53RD CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER: I desire to be fair in the discussion that I shall devote to this subject. I am not sufficient of a partisan to applaud every act that proceeds from my own party, and to criticise and condemn everything that is done by my opponents. I have endeavored with an unprejudiced mind to investigate this case in all of its elaborate details, and have tried to arrive at an honest conclusion, without any political bias whatever, and I shall give you the conclusions that I have reached, and the judgment that I have arrived at, for whatever they may be worth.

My opinion is this: In the first place, I am convinced beyond all manner of reasonable doubt that the Government of the United States, through its accredited representative, was an active participant in the overthrow of the monarchy in the kingdom of Hawaii; and in the second place, the President having submitted the matter to Congress, I am satisfied that according to the usages and principles of international law, we have no right by the use of arms or force to remedy the wrong that has

been committed, and that all efforts for a peaceable solution of the matter having terminated, we have no further right to intervene, and that it is our duty for the present to recognize the *de facto* government that is now in charge, and our duty in the future to recognize such form of government as may be determined upon by the wishes and suffrages of the people of the Island.

MONARCHY OVERTHROWN BY MINISTER STEVENS.

As to the proof that the monarchical form of government was overthrown by the armed forces of the United States, and that the said government would not have been overthrown but for such unlawful intervention upon our part. There is no difficulty about this branch of the investigation whatever. No one can come to an honest conclusion upon it until he reads the testimony, and impartially analyzes the facts that have been submitted. We could not select a stronger case before any impartial tribunal of the country in favor of the proposition that is now asserted that the abdication of the Queen was not to those who constitute the provisional government, but was made to the forces of the United States, and to no one else. What I would like very much to have is the honest judgment of this House upon this question when I have submitted the facts that strike me as the salient points in this controversy. I shall not go into the history of these Islands. This has been done, and it is entirely unnecessary to reiterate it in order to arrive at a just conclusion in this matter. I

shall come right down to the *res gestae* of this transaction, and by the surrounding circumstances that illumine it, my effort will be to show it proven by an overwhelming preponderance of evidence from which there is no escape. Of course our friends upon the other side are trying to shift the controversy as much as possible. They rest their case entirely upon what they conceive to be the informality of Mr. Blount's appointment and the proceedings of the Minister who now represents the Government upon the Islands. I do not propose by any means to omit this part of the discussion, but I ask you how is it possible for us to determine whether the President was right in trying to remedy a wrong, and whether he applied the proper sort of a remedy until we first find out whether a wrong was committed.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REVOLT.

Our political opponents will not discuss the question in this House, whether Mr. Stevens was guilty of a crime against the government to which he was the accredited representative, and was guilty of violating the law of nations, because, in my deliberate judgment, the testimony is so overwhelming upon this point that there is no doubt whatever of his guilt, even admitting, for the sake of argument, that, so far as he was personally concerned, his intentions were honorable and his motives inspired by the highest principles of patriotism.

What are the facts? Let me bring your minds down to the very day upon which the Committee of Safety

was organized, which was the original source of revolt against the constitutional government of Hawaii. Just look at it for a moment. On the fourteenth day of January, 1893, this committee sprang into existence. The fourteenth day of January fell upon Saturday. Sunday intervening, no action was taken, but on Monday, the sixteenth day of January, the naval forces of the United States were landed from a man-of-war lying in the harbor of Honolulu, and upon the very next day the provisional government was perfected, and immediately thereupon it was recognized by the United States Minister, and within two days thereafter commissioners representing this so-called provisional government sailed for the United States, and within a few days after their arrival at Washington a treaty of annexation between them and President Harrison was agreed upon and sent to the Senate of the United States for ratification.

When we take into consideration the fact that the only military forces at the Hawaiian capital at the time that this disturbance began were the soldiers that were under the command of the Queen, and that there were no other armed forces that had been landed except the marines from the United States man-of-war, under the orders of the American minister; and when we connect with this the undisputed fact that the Committee of Safety consisted of some thirteen persons, who had no armed force at their command whatever, the irresistible conclusion is that the Queen and her government surrendered to no one else except to the power and authority of the United States, who, through their representative, had unlaw-

fully intervened in the political affairs of the kingdom, for the purpose of overthrowing the monarchy, and of establishing a form of government that would lead to annexation and union with the United States.

THE ANSWER OF MINISTER STEVENS.

What is Mr. Stevens' answer to this charge? I read what he says: "Blount squarely asserts," says he, "that I promised to aid the Committee of Safety by force. This is emphatically and categorically untrue." Why, of course, it is untrue. There was no necessity of his promising to aid the Committee of Safety by force. I will show you presently that every one upon the Island who was unfriendly to the Monarchy and who was in favor of annexation knew perfectly well that Mr. Stevens would aid them in the manner in which he did whenever the opportunity occurred and the occasion presented itself. We will convict him by his own letters, written months before these troubles began. By his own admissions and confessions, evidence that is recognized as the very strongest evidence in law. Our friend from Maine might as well arise in this House and state that he has never promised to vote for the Republican ticket next fall, and that any one who makes a statement to the contrary says what is emphatically and categorically untrue. He has no more interest in the success of his party than this zealous representative of his party was interested in the scheme of annexation, which was the favorite object of his political

existence, and which he intended to accomplish before his recall took place under the present administration.

What is his next answer? A defense that is utterly falsified by every fact that glitters through the whole of the testimony and the correspondence that has been submitted to us. He claims that the Marines from the *Boston* were landed for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of American citizens, and the homes of the Legation and the Consulate. There is a maxim in law—"False in one thing, false in all things;" and I ask you to look at this testimony and tell me whether that statement has any foundation whatever in truth. What is the truth? Why, that the troops were landed in a part of the city remote from the place where they ought to have been landed if he intended to protect those for whose safety he seemed to be so solicitous. With hospital stretchers and with double cartridge belts the Marines were stationed within 200 feet of the government buildings, and with the guns of the United States trained upon the palace. Not only this, but I ask you if life and property were in danger why did not other foreign powers, whose vessels were in the harbor, land their troops for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of their citizens. You talk about war and you charge President Cleveland with having declared war by calling upon the provisional government to surrender. What was this but war upon the part of a minister who has shown no authority for his action upon the part of the government that he represented. You talk about taking down the flag of the United States. I want to know

what right had the Government of the United States to raise its flag over the capitol of the Islands. I charge that the flag of the United States had no more right to wave over the government buildings at Honolulu than the Minister of the United States would have a right to-day to raise it over the government buildings in Brazil, or in any other territory where the people were powerless to resist him. What right had Mr. Stevens to proclaim a protectorate over these Islands? Where is the authority? Where is the constitutional or legislative power for any such action as this? Not only this, but so anxious and zealous was he to accomplish the capitulation of the Monarchy, that when the Committee of Safety notified him, having become apprehensive of the position that they had taken, that they did not desire the landing of the United States troops, he replied to them that it was too late, and that he would land the troops anyway.

THE QUEEN WITHDRAWS THE CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION.

This is not all, however. This is not the beginning of the evidence against him in the record. When the Queen was notified that the new constitution that she proposed to promulgate was objectionable, what did she do? She withdrew it, and I want to read you what was done upon this point, because it is one of the most important elements of the testimony that has been submitted to us. Listen to the language of the withdrawal:

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JOHN L. STEVENS,
United States Envoy Extraordinary, Honolulu:

“Her Majesty’s Ministers desire to express their appreciation for the quiet and order which have prevailed in this community since the events of Saturday, and are authorized to say that the position taken by her Majesty in regard to the promulgation of a new constitution was under stress of her native subjects. Authority is given for the assurance that any changes desired in the fundamental law of the land will be sought only by methods provided in the constitution itself. Her Majesty’s Ministers request all citizens to accept the assurance of her Majesty in the same spirit in which it is given.”

This was signed by the Queen and her Cabinet. Upon the next day, so that there should be no mistake about it, the following communication was also sent to Minister Stevens, signed by the Queen and her Cabinet :

“The assurance conveyed by a royal proclamation by myself and Ministers yesterday, having been received by my native subjects, and by them ratified at a mass-meeting, was received in a different spirit by a meeting representing the foreign population and interests of my Kingdom. It is now my desire to give to your Excellency, as the diplomatic representative of the United States of America at my Court, the solemn assurance that the present constitution will be upheld and maintained by me and my Ministers, and no changes will be made except by the methods therein provided. I desire to express to your Excellency this assurance in the spirit of that friendship which has ever existed between my Kingdom and that of the Government of the United States of America, and which I trust will long continue.”

There is one word in connection with this communication that sheds a whole lustre of light upon these transactions. It is the word “declined” written in lead pencil upon the back of this communication, as it was

found among the Government archives by Mr. Blount. A word which, in all the profuse vindications of Mr. Stevens, has never been explained, and never can be explained, because it was his declination to accept the withdrawal of the constitution by the Queen in his anxiety to overthrow the government which she represented. He declined it. Just think of that! What right had he to decline it? What had he to do with any constitution that it was proposed either to adopt or to change? Four times the constitution of the Islands had been changed. Every time, so far as I can ascertain, contrary to law and in violation of constitutional provisions. What have we to do with that? What had he to do with it? Is anything more necessary to prove the active complicity of this gentleman in the conspiracy for the overthrow of this government? But if there is let us go on. What is the next proceeding? To whom did the Queen surrender? To the Committee of Safety? To the provisional government? To thirteen men, who had no power or resources behind them except the military aid of the United States? You talk to me about the *res gestae*. Why, here you have it in a light that enters with the precision of the morning sunbeam, and illustrates this whole infamous proceeding for the edification of mankind. I read you the terms of the Queen's surrender. This is the very best proof that we can possibly obtain upon this matter. The proof from the Queen as to whom the surrender was made. Listen to this protest. She says:

"I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, his Excellency John L. Stevens, has caused to be landed in Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said provisional government. Now to avoid any collision of armed forces, and perhaps the loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States, shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative, and re-instate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

THE CRIME OF AN AMERICAN MINISTER.

Do you want anything stronger than this, and this abdication was sent by Mr. Stevens to President Harrison and communicated by President Harrison to the Senate of the United States. This surrender took place on the 17th day of January, 1893, one day after the landing of the troops from the United States man-of-war. Why did not Mr. Stevens at this time deny that she had yielded her authority to the superior forces of the United States of America as proclaimed by her. He did not deny it, because it was the truth and because he knew it was the truth, and because every one upon the Islands knew it was the truth, and we know it is the truth, and history, aside from political prejudice and partisan bias, will brand and condemn it as the truth, as an utterly unjustifiable act upon the part of a United States representative, who, without any authority, against all the traditions of our government, against the universal customs and sanctions of international law, betrayed the trust that had been committed to him, and conspired to overthrow the government to which he was accredited.

THE FERVENT PIETY OF MINISTER STEVENS.

I have argued this case so far upon the circumstances that surround the act. I shall not pretend to cover the vast mass of testimony that has been adduced in support of the proposition for which I am contending. Mr. Stevens has undertaken to defame and malign almost everyone who has appeared against him in this case. I have nothing to charge against him personally. He may be a man of the most honorable motives and of the most elevated standard of moral conduct. The only trouble about him is that he is entirely too good. He belongs to a race of beings who appear to have dropped down upon this earth through sheer mistake. There is only one thing in his pious zeal and fervor that he has forgotten to do, and that is to pray for Mr. Cleveland, Mr. Gresham, and Mr. Blount. "Charity, my dear," said Mr. Pecksniff, "when I take my chamber candlestick to-night, remind me to be more than usually particular in praying for Mr. Anthony Chuzzlewit, who has done me so gross an act of injustice."

I say that he has maligned almost everyone from the Queen down. It is a very strange thing to me that if the Queen was the dissolute and depraved character that he represents her to be, that he would suffer his daughter to be in constant attendance upon her at her receptions, and permit his family to be on terms of the closest intimacy with this debauched relic of imperialism, as he styles her. It was only a few months before this so-called rebellion that Minister Stevens entertained this

degraded character at a dinner given at his residence at the United States Legation, and according to Mr. Charles Nordhoff, correspondent of the New York *Herald*, permitted his own daughter to wait upon her at the table. It was only a short time before this that the Rev. Sereno Bishop, in the *Review of Reviews*, wrote of the Queen as follows :

"She has long had a prominent place in Honolulu society, associating from youth with the most cultivated ladies of the capital. She has a perfect use of good English and a good literary and an especially good musical education. The Queen's manner is peculiarly winning, her bearing noble and becoming—the law and characteristic of Hawaiian royalty. For some years she has been a member of the Woman's Board of Missions and an interested participant in their meetings. She has long been a very active patroness of the large seminary for training native girls, and greatly looked up to by teachers and pupils."

I care nothing, so far as this question is concerned, about the morality or immorality of the Queen. She is the custodian of her own morals, and her character, whatever it may be, is no justification for the crime that was committed against her. There was a time, not long ago, when there was hardly a virtuous ruler upon a European throne, and vice held high carnival in all the continental courts. Would this condition of affairs have justified any of our foreign ministers in entering into a conspiracy with a revolutionary cabal to overthrow the government to which they were accredited ?

There are a few of the witnesses against him whom he does not traduce, however, in the same manner that he has the Queen, and I desire, from all this testimony,

to select two affidavits from this class of witnesses which bear directly upon the transaction in question, and which are so strong that they carry conviction upon the face of them. I read you now a few lines from the affidavit of Mr. Wundenburg, whose integrity seems to be unquestioned, and against whom no aspersion has fallen, even from the venomous tongue of Mr. Stevens. I might say, in passing, that Mr. Wundenburg was tendered the position of Collector of Customs recently by the provisional government and declined it. He must certainly be an honest man if he declines an office. Here is what he says :

"At the time the men landed the town was perfectly quiet, business hours were about over, and the people—men, women and children—were in the streets, and nothing unusual was to be seen except the landing of a formidable armed force with gatling guns, evidently fully prepared to remain on shore for an indefinite length of time, as the men were supplied with double cartridge belts filled with ammunition, also haversacks and canteens, and were attended by a hospital corps with stretchers and medical supplies. The curiosity of the people on the streets was aroused, and the youngest more particularly followed the troops to see what it was all about. . . . During all the deliberations of the Committee, and in fact throughout the whole proceedings connected with plans for the moving up to the final issue, the basis of action was the general understanding that Minister Stevens would keep his promise to support the movement with the men from the *Boston*, and the statement is now advisedly made that without the previous assurance of support from the American Minister and the actual presence of the United States troops no movement would have been attempted, and if attempted would have been a dismal failure, resulting in the capture or death of the participants in a very short time."

I desire now to submit one more affidavit, and that is also from another gentleman who seems to have escaped

the shafts of Mr. Stevens' calumny. I read from the affidavit of Mr. John Ross, as follows :

"From an experience of twenty years residence in the Hawaiian Islands I hereby state, without bias or prejudice, that there was no demonstration or disturbance or threats made that there would be disturbance on the 16th day of January, 1893, that would call for the landing of troops even to protect life or property ; in fact the landing of men from the U. S. S. *Boston* was so unlooked for that when the report came to the Hawaiian Hotel where I was at the time of their landing, about 4.30 P. M., that it was received as a canard until the battalion was seen marching past on King Street, and came to a halt on the sidewalk east of the main entrance of the Royal Palace and facing the south. About 7 P. M. the battalion formed and marched eastward about three-fourths of a mile to the suburbs and broke ranks on the premises of J. D. Atherton, where it appeared they were to bivouac for the night. Next morning they occupied Harmony Hall, a small wooden building about 80 feet west of the government building. . . . The circumstance of the landing of the Marines was generally accepted as part of the scheme of the revolutionist or missionary party as understood to be arranged between them and Mr. Stevens, and Captain Wiltse of the U. S. S. *Boston*, as shortly before the battalion landed, Messrs. Thurston, W. R. Castle and Henry Waterhouse were seen going to the U. S. Legation and returning from there, and to the office of L. A. Thurston and W. O. Smith's office, the headquarters of the revolutionists. But at no time on or after the 16th of January was life or property in danger more than ordinarily. Such is my belief and statement."

But, Mr. Speaker, if everything that I have said were out of this case, and that which I now refer to was the only fact that is in it, there would be no difficulty in arriving at the irresistible conclusion that the Government at Hawaii was subverted by the armed intervention of the United States forces, and not by any force or power that emanated from its subjects.

The letters of Mr. Stevens convict him. He demonstrates his own guilt by his own voluntary and exuberant confessions. It is the evidence indelibly written by his own hand against himself. He was an annexationist from the time that he landed upon the Islands, and there never was an hour of time during the whole of that period that he was not longing for a favorable opportunity to put his policy into practical operation. The overthrow of the monarchy was a necessary step to accomplish this purpose.

Look at the letter of February 8th, written nearly a year before these troubles began. I read a brief extract from it:

"There are increasing indications," says he, "that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men, as well as with the less responsible of the foreign and native population of the Islands. The present political situation is feverish, and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise, until these Islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain. . . . At a future time, after the proposed treaty shall have been ratified, I shall deem it my official duty to give a more elaborate statement of facts and reasons why a new departure by the United States as to Hawaii is rapidly becoming a necessity, that a protectorate is impracticable, and that annexation must be the future remedy."

Look at the letter of March 8th. Every word of this letter must be read and not a sentiment that it contains must be lost sight of, because it glitters all over with a guilty intent upon the part of Mr. Stevens, from which his strongest advocates will find it utterly impossible to extricate him.

“UNITED STATES LEGATION,
HONOLULU, March 8, 1892.

“*Sir*:—In view of possible contingencies in these Islands, I ask for the instructions of the Department of State on the following, viz.:

“If the Government here should be surprised and overturned by an orderly and peaceful revolutionary movement, largely of native Hawaiians, and a provisional or republican government organized and proclaimed, would the United States minister and naval commander here be justified in responding affirmatively to the call of the members of the removed Government to restore them to power or replace them in possession of the Government buildings; or should the United States minister and naval commander confine themselves exclusively to the preservation of American property, the protection of American citizens, and the prevention of anarchy? Should a revolutionary attempt of the character indicated be made, there are strong reasons to presume that it would begin with the seizure of the police station, with its arms and ammunition, and this accomplished, the Royal Palace and the Government building, containing the cabinet offices and archives, would very soon be captured, the latter building being situated about one-third of a mile from the police station. In such contingencies would it be justifiable to use the United States forces here to restore the Government buildings to the possession of the displaced officials? Ordinarily in like circumstances the rule seems to be to limit the landing and movement of the United States force in foreign waters and dominion exclusively to the protection of the United States Legation, and of the lives and property of American citizens. But as the relations of the United States to Hawaii are exceptional, and in former years the United States officials here took somewhat exceptional action in circumstances of disorder, I desire to know how far the present minister and naval commander may deviate from established international rules and precedents in the contingencies indicated in the first part of this dispatch.

“I have information which I deem reliable that there is an organized revolutionary party on the Islands, composed largely of native Hawaiians and a considerable number of whites and half-whites, led chiefly by individuals of the latter two classes. This party is hostile to the Queen and to her chief confidants, especially

opposed to the coming to the throne of the half-English heir apparent, now being educated in England, and means to gain its object either by forcing the Queen to select her cabinet from its own members, or else to overthrow the monarchy and establish a republic with the ultimate view of annexation to the United States of the whole Islands. A portion of this party mean only the former, and the other portion intend the latter. Failing to accomplish the former, the most of the party would seek the latter alternative. I have little doubt the revolutionary attempt would have been made ere this but for the presence here of the United States ship-of-war. I still incline to the opinion that the revolutionary attempt will not be made so long as there is a United States force in the harbor of Honolulu, but it would be rash to assume or assert this positively. Therefore, I deem it my official duty to ask for instructions in view of possible contingencies.

"I may add that the annexation sentiment is increasing, quite as much among the white residents and native Hawaiians, and other workingmen who own no sugar stock, as with the sugar planters.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"JOHN S. STEVENS."

Add to this the letter of November 20th, 1892. A very brief extract from this letter will suffice :

"An intelligent and impartial examination" says he, "of the facts can hardly fail to lead to the conclusion that the relations and policy of the United States towards Hawaii will soon demand some change, if not the adoption of decisive measures, with the aim to secure American interests and future supremacy by encouraging Hawaiian development and aiding to promote responsible government in these Islands. . . . I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion with emphasis that the golden hour is near at hand."

You will observe that the "golden hour" was only about two months off from the time that this letter was written.

A KINGDOM FOR A MARITIME PRIZE.

One word more from Mr. Stevens, and I have finished with him. I read a line from his own defense, published by him in answer to the charges that were made against him upon his return to this country. This is the language that he uses.

"This strange turning back on an American policy of more than half a century; this wanton disregard of the opportunity to assume jurisdiction and ownership of a territorial and maritime prize with a clean title and without the cost of a single life is justly causing profound indignation among the American people."

A maritime prize. Whoever heard of such a proposition as this? We have heard of an English King who, at the battle of Bosworth Field, was anxious to exchange his kingdom for a horse, but never upon the pages either of fact or of fiction have we ever heard of a kingdom for a maritime prize.

We have heard of captures and reprisals in times of war, and of condemnations in courts of admiralty, but who has ever had the effrontery to make the suggestion that a government like this should take and capture another government, independent, though feeble, and bring it before a tribunal of sixty millions of its people, and condemn and confiscate it as a maritime prize.

THE MISSING LETTERS OF MR. BLAINE.

There is one more fact, without which this discussion would be entirely incomplete. I refer to the missing letters of Mr. Blaine. Where are those letters? Does any-

one in possession of his reason suppose that there was no correspondence between Mr. Blaine and Mr. Stevens upon this subject? Has anyone the temerity to assert that the letter which I have just read in full, calling for instruction from Mr. Blaine, remained unanswered? The strongest presumption can always be drawn in the absence of important testimony, that it is in the power of parties to produce. The correspondence between Mr. Stevens and Mr. Blaine must necessarily have been a private correspondence, because it is not disclosed by the records of the State Department. Mr. Blaine was an ardent annexationist. His policy was a policy of aggression and colonization. Mr. Stevens was the representative of his policy upon these Islands. Months before, he predicted the very disturbance that took place in January, and asked for instructions, in case that it should occur. Where are the instructions? I call upon Mr. Stevens, honorable citizen as he has been represented to be, either to produce them, or to publicly proclaim that no response was ever made to this letter. The production of this answer would clear up the whole controversy and would satisfy the mind of the country either of the guilt or of the innocence of the State Department in connection with this entire affair. Its suppression leads me to believe—I wish I could believe otherwise—that the conspiracy antedated for sometime the overt act, and that the seizure of the government and the dethronement of the Queen were the result of a deliberate purpose and in execution of the designs of those whose policy was so ably and faithfully represented by Mr. Stevens upon these Islands.

BOUTELLE AND THE FLAG.

Our friend from Maine has a resolution here inquiring by what rights and upon whose authority Mr. Blount undertook to take down the United States flag from the Capitol building at Honolulu. I want to know by what right, and by what authority, and under whose instructions was this flag ever placed there. Our friend, whose ability I recognize, and whose earnestness of purpose I admire, has gotten possession of the flag idea, or rather the flag idea has gotten possession of him; he is with the flag like the Irishman is with the shilalah; whenever you see a head, hit it; whenever you see a place to plant the flag, run her up. He has not stopped talking about the flag for twenty-five years; in his thoughts by day, in his dreams by night; in sunshine and in storm he has carried the flag, until I have long ago come to the conclusion that the only way to solve the question as to whether there is an open sea in the frigid zone, is for the Secretary of the Navy to give Boutelle the flag, start him upon an expedition, let him go all alone, and I will guarantee that before the end of this century, the nations of the earth will behold Boutelle of Maine standing erect upon the summit of the North Pole and waving the stars and stripes in majestic solitude amid the frozen recesses of the Arctic zone.

MR. BLOUNT'S APPOINTMENT.

One word more before I come to the second branch of this discussion. Great stress has been laid upon the alleged informality of Mr. Blount's appointment. Why

was not his appointment questioned when it was made? Why have hundreds of precedents in similar cases from the time of Washington down been completely ignored, and this whole case argued as if this appointment stood isolated and alone upon the pages of our political history? He was not an ambassador or a public minister under the Constitution; he was an agent appointed for a specific purpose, and when the purpose was accomplished there was an end of the agency. The records of the State Department abound with similar cases. Democratic and Republican presidents have over and over again in the same sort of emergencies adopted the same sort of means for the purpose of arriving at proper policies and conclusions. In the year 1818 the right of the President to appoint special commissioners to the South American States was questioned by Mr. Clay when the diplomatic appropriation bill came up in the House of Representatives. The objection was met by placing the appropriation under the head of Incidental Expenses. Since then, if you except the differences of opinion that arose in the Senate Committee, when the treaty with Great Britain was under consideration, the right of the President to appoint special commissioners to take testimony and report the result of their investigations has never been questioned or denied; and so far as his power over the naval or military forces of the Government was concerned, no fair construction that can be placed upon the correspondence of the State Department will extend that power beyond the right to protect the life and property of American citizens.

THE DE FACTO GOVERNMENT.

But there is another charge that has been trumpeted around to mislead those who have not the time or the means to investigate this matter, and who possess the unfortunate faculty of believing the truth of everything that is uttered in these halls. It is said that when Mr. Willis was sent as an ambassador to the provisional government that we were bound by that act, and that he had no right to oppose in any way the government to which he was accredited, or to question its authority. We are told that the provisional government is a *de facto* government, and that we must recognize it as a matter of right. I shall presently satisfy you that I am in favor of recognizing this *de facto* government, but surely not for any of the reasons that have been given by our opponents. My friends upon the other side; you are begging the whole question, because our contention is that this *de facto* government is the government that Mr. Stevens wrongfully and criminally set up in these Islands, and that the principle of international law that compels us to recognize a government that is in possession and authority does not apply to a case where the government has been wrongfully put into possession and authority by the unlawful acts of our representatives. Give me a precedent where it was ever held that where an officer of a government, without the sanction of law, forcibly subverts the government to which he has been accredited, that his own government cannot undo his wrong and is utterly powerless to restore the ruler whom he has deposed. Give me

a case in all history, in all the negotiations of the State Department where such a principle was ever acted upon or asserted. Take the case of Texas, of the French Republic, of the revolution in Greece, of the Hungarian revolt, of the Spanish Republics in South America; examine the opinions of our Secretaries of State, of Webster and Clay and Van Buren, and Livingston and Clayton and Buchanan, and Seward, and of Blaine, in all their voluminous correspondence with our ministers to those countries, and tell me if they ever announced such a doctrine as this; that we must at all events recognize every government that is *de facto* in power, regardless of the fact as to whether our representatives, without authority from Congress, were instrumental in placing it in power. When Mr. Buchanan, in 1848, declared that, "In its intercourse with foreign nations, the government of the United States has, from its origin, always recognized *de facto* governments," and when Mr. Clayton, in 1849, said that, "We as a nation have ever been ready and willing to recognize any government *de facto* which appeared capable of maintaining its power," they were dealing with cases in which our ministers were not parties, without law and without authority, to the disruption of an existing government. I am willing, upon this question, to frankly and fully admit that if Mr. Stevens was innocent, or if he had the right to do what he did, if he was not a party to the conspiracy that overthrew the government at Hawaii, if he had no connection or participation in this act, that then Mr. Willis had no right to attempt to restore the Queen or to call upon the pro-

visional government to surrender; but if, on the other hand, Mr. Stevens, without right, without any power in the premises, placed himself at the head and front of this whole movement, as I believe he did, and that it was his individual act, beyond the power of his agency, and not within the scope of any functions that were delegated to him, then we had a right, a perfect right, while recognizing the *de facto* government, to plainly indicate to it that, having been brought into existence and power through an unlawful act of our representative, that we intended to withdraw our support from it, and demand, as the President did demand, that restoration should be made, and that the affairs of government should be placed in the same condition that they were in before Mr. Stevens intervened to radically change them.

THE SURRENDER WAS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Speaker, I have concluded the first proposition that I started out to maintain, and I have given but the smallest fraction of proof in its support, and I believe that no impartial jury or tribunal could hesitate about the verdict. Whatever opinions may be entertained upon other matters in connection with this controversy, one thing is sure, beyond all doubt or cavil, and that is, that the monarchy of Hawaii represented by the Queen surrendered its government, not to a revolutionary party, not to a party that had behind it the suffrages of the people, not to a committee of safety who had no armed force to sustain its pretensions, but to the forces of the

United States, which were irresistible, so far as she was concerned, which could have shattered her palace and her strongholds into fragments upon the slightest provocation, and which, by an act of usurpation without a parallel in the history of recent times, were landed upon her soil, not to protect life and property, that were never in danger, but to intimidate and terrify her into submission, so that an American minister who should have been her guest and friend under the law of nations, might, before retirement into obscurity, gratify the cherished ambition of his life and bring these Islands into bondage and subjection as a maritime prize, and this Island Queen, a pleading captive in his train.

THE ACTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Let me come to the second branch of this discussion. What shall we do now? Nothing, Mr. Speaker, absolutely nothing. A great wrong has been committed; a crime has been perpetrated that cannot be justified before the nations of the world. The President, in the exercise of his power and authority, has offered to redress this wrong. It was his duty to do this. If he was right in the premises, then he was right in the conclusion, and such will be the intelligent verdict of his countrymen. He could not have stood by with folded hands and sanctioned by his silence the concealment of this iniquity. It was a grave and delicate question to deal with, and he has treated it with the unflinching integrity and courage that has characterized all of his official acts. He has

assumed the whole of the responsibility and when his conduct is calmly considered, he will be fully justified at the bar of public opinion. If you once admit that our minister was at the head of this conspiracy, then it became the duty of the President under every dictate of justice to attempt to make restoration of the rights that had been plundered. We have nothing to do with the character of the Queen or her form of government. She may be as great a tyrant as ever wielded the sceptre of oppression; she may be possessed of the most savage and ferocious instincts. That is not the issue. The question is, was she robbed of her inheritance; was she dethroned; was she despoiled of her kingdom and her crown by the infamous interference of a minister of the United States. If so, it was right; it was honorable in the highest degree; it was in accordance with our traditions and with every impulse of the national conscience to make an honest and peaceable attempt to redress the grievance which she had suffered and to restore the title of which she had been robbed.

NO FURTHER ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO
RESTORE THE MONARCHY.

This attempt has been made and the provisional government has refused to accede to the demand, and the President has submitted the whole matter to Congress for our action and determination. What is to be done? This is the practical question. I want to be very plain about this. So far as I am concerned, I would make

no further effort whatever in behalf of the fallen sovereign of these islands. In my opinion she has passed into history, and I would let her remain there. When she refused to accept the conditions of amnesty that were proposed, and insisted upon exercising the rights of a savage, and was willing in this enlightened age to stain her soil with the blood of some of her best citizens, though she claims to have had the technical right by law to do so, she placed herself beyond the pale of civilization; and however much I condemn the crime of which she has been the victim and detest the policy that made that crime possible, I would, in view of her conduct, permit her to depart from the scene of her former glory, and I would make no further effort whatever to reconstruct her throne or to restore the supremacy of the monarchy that she represented.

The provisional government, oligarchy as it is, must be recognized by us as a government *de facto*, as a matter of policy, if not as a matter of right, and such recognition must continue until its rule is superseded by another form of government, monarchical or republican, that the people may determine upon. Let the people settle this question; we have nothing to do with the internal affairs of these Islands. I know the situation is a peculiar one, but I deny that beyond protection to the life and property of our citizens, that we have any right to interfere in the adjustment or settlement of their political destiny. We will see to it that no foreign power shall endanger American interests at this location, but we ought not, and we shall not, as I believe, so far as this Congress is concerned,

take possession of these Islands or assume a protectorate over them or actively concern ourselves in the management of their governmental affairs.

NO ANNEXATION.

This brings me, in conclusion, to the question of annexation. Who wants these Islands annexed to the United States? Mr. Stevens did; that is absolutely sure. With trumpet tongue he heralded it whenever a steamer could carry a message across the sea. But I ask you now, what right have we under our Constitution, or under the Constitution of these Islands, to annex them without the consent of the people that are to be annexed, and if we had that right, do we want to exercise it. I say, never. So far as I am concerned, I am opposed to the whole policy of annexation, either of these Islands or of any other Islands or places. I believe in the doctrine of Calhoun, accretion, not colonization. If we once enter upon schemes of annexation, there will be no end to them. Let us guard the territory that we have with jealous vigilance, and let us protect American interests wherever they are located. That is all that the Monroe Doctrine ever meant, which seems to furnish the basis for all these schemes of annexation.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

No sentiment that was ever officially uttered by any president has given rise to so much confusion and misrepresentation as the sentiment that is known as the

Monroe Doctrine. Let us for a moment recall what President Monroe really said, because we seem to have forgotten, not only what he said, but the circumstances that surrounded his utterances. This is the language of the Monroe Doctrine, and the whole of it. "The American Continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as the subjects for future colonization by any European powers. We owe it to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and the European powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have a great consideration for, and on just principles acknowledge, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." We must take into consideration that when this message was written, that the United States had recognized the American dependencies of Spain as separate republics and that the allied powers of Europe had met in convention at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, at Laybach in Styria in 1820, and at Verona in 1822, for the purpose of depriving them of their independence. In fact, at Verona the following desperate declaration was

made a part of the treaty between the principal governments of Europe, Great Britain excepted:—"The high contracting parties, well convinced that the system of representative government is as incompatible with the monarchical principle as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people is opposed to the principle of divine right, engage in the most solemn manner to employ all their means and unite all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative government, wherever it is known to exist in the states of Europe, and to prevent it from being introduced into those states where it is not known."

Mr. Speaker, if you examine the records of Congress from this time down all through the debates upon the Wyckliffe resolution to the resolutions of Mr. Burnside in 1879, the Crapo resolutions in 1880, and the resolution of the Senate in reference to the inter-oceanic canals in 1886, not one single step do we ever find that Congress ever took extending in any manner the original proposition as advanced by President Monroe, which never for a moment, under its broadest and most liberal interpretation, justifies any policy of annexation or colonization as has been so often claimed for it by its misguided champions.

WHAT CONSTITUTES TRUE PATRIOTISM.

I believe, sir, in that spirit of loyalty and of patriotism that circumscribes itself within the confines of this republic. I do not believe with the late distinguished and lamented Secretary of State that these Pacific Islands

form an integral part of the North American continent, nor do I believe that we ought to enter upon the rôle of missionaries for the purpose of converting the nations of the earth to the tenets of our political faith.

We have a sufficient territory of our own to take care of, and we are prepared to defend it against the world. The combined powers of despotism can never gain a foothold upon our soil. So far as kings and queens and thrones and crowns and all the emblems and insignia of royalty are concerned, I detest their very names and presence. I do not believe in the natural right of any ruler who does not derive his authority from the people. I believe in the divine right of the people. I hope to see the time when royal lines shall recede before the advance of representative government, and when every monarchy on earth will make way for republican institutions. Our flag will always float in triumph beside the flag of any republic, and every inroad of the people against their oppressors will always be hailed by us with joy and acclamation ; but I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that as deeply as I love my country, with all the devotion that I would lay upon her altars, with a fervid reverence for her flag wherever its colors greet the eye, I would rather see that flag lowered and trampled upon than raised as a pirate's ensign and placed in the hands of every buccaneering demagogue to use, not as an emblem of honor, but as an instrument of terror and oppression to the helpless and enfeebled races of mankind.

SPEECH

IN FAVOR OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PRESIDENT IN REFERENCE TO THE CHINESE EXCLUSION BILL. 53RD CONGRESS.*

MR. SPEAKER: I do not know that it is necessary for me to say a great deal upon this subject, the ground having been so fully covered by the chairman of the committee.

What I want to say to the House is this: I think that the passage of this bill is a measure of self-evident justice. I think that the statement of the proposition upon which the passage of the bill is asked is sufficient to carry with it absolute conviction, upon its face. It seems to me that if we are to be governed by any principles of common justice, that this bill must be passed giving an extension to the persons under the act to register within the time mentioned in the bill. If, on the other hand, we are to be governed by our feelings and prejudices, then there is the broadest latitude within which we may perpetrate one of the grossest iniquities

* The debate, which was one of the most animated of the session, is given in full, because an attack was made upon the policy of the President and the State Department, which was defended in the speech.

that ever stained or disgraced the pages of American history.

I wish to be brief in what I desire to say, because I propose to yield a part of my time to the gentleman from New York [MR. SICKLES]. The first proposition I want to address to this House is this: that the Geary law does not come under any of the treaties that the Government of the United States has made with the Government of China. Some of the gentlemen who have spoken upon this question have intimated to the contrary; but I repeat the proposition, that this law does not come under any of the treaties that the Government of the United States has made with the Government of China.

That law is in violation of every treaty we have made with the Government of China, and emphatically so pronounced in every decision that the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered upon this question. This is a very important point, because it lies right at the root of this controversy. The law was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, not because it was in pursuance of any treaty we have made with China, but because, although in violation of all the treaties that we made with China, the Supreme Court held that we had the right to pass a law that was in violation of those treaties, and that the law was superior to and paramount to the provisions of the treaty.

Let us see whether I am right, because I understand the Representatives of the Pacific coast take quite a different view, and it is very important that this question should be decided. I challenge this House successfully to contradict the proposition that I state.

Let me give you a portion of the treaty, it is only a few lines.

I am not talking now about the Burlingame treaty, I am talking about the supplemental treaty; because no one upon this floor will contend that under the Burlingame treaty we had any right to pass the Geary law, but the suggestion was thrown out and the contention was made by the gentleman from California [MR. MAGUIRE] that under the supplemental treaty of 1880 we had a right to pass the law. Let us look for a moment at the supplemental treaty:

Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order thereof, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers; other classes not being included in the limitation.

You see, gentlemen, that this law applies only to Chinese coming into this country. It does not apply to any one resident or domiciled in the country. No one ever asserted what the gentleman from California [MR. MAGUIRE] seems to contend for, that under the supplemental treaty of 1880 we had a right to pass a law applying to Chinese citizens who had been lawfully domiciled in this country under existing treaties with the Government of China. I challenge contradiction upon this point, and if I am wrong I shall be glad to be

corrected by any gentleman who is better informed than I am upon this subject.

I have read these treaties, I have read the laws, I have read the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States very carefully, and I say that under the provisions of this treaty there is not a word from which the inference can be drawn that the Government of the United States had a right under that treaty to pass a law which had reference only to Chinese who were domiciled within the territory in which they were being proscribed.

Let me read a few lines of what the Supreme Court has said upon this point. It has been intimated that the Supreme Court never said that this law did not come under the treaty. I assert that the Supreme Court has said so. The Supreme Court distinctly and expressly held that the Geary law did not come under the treaty, but it upheld the law notwithstanding the fact that it was in violation of the treaty; for every lawyer who is conversant with the decisions of the Supreme Court knows perfectly well that the court has over and over again decided that, although an act passed by Congress may be in violation of a treaty, nevertheless it overrides the treaty and is paramount to its provisions.

I ask attention to the language of the Supreme Court, because it seems to me that this is very important and entirely decisive of the point. Says the Supreme Court:

In our jurisprudence it is well settled that the provisions of an act of Congress, passed in the exercise of its constitutional authority on this as on any other subject, if clear and explicit, must be upheld by the courts even if in contravention of express stipulations of a treaty.

Treaties are of no greater obligation than acts of Congress. By the Constitution the laws made in pursuance thereof, and treaties made under the authority of the United States, are both declared to be the supreme law of the land, and no paramount authority is given to the one over the other.

A treaty, it is true, is in its nature a contract between nations, but if the treaty operates by its own force and relates to a subject within the power of Congress, it can be deemed, in that particular, only the equivalent of a legislative act; to be repealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. In either case the last expression of the sovereign must control. So far as a treaty made by the United States with any foreign nation can become the subject of judicial cognizance in the courts of this country it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass for its enforcement, modification, or repeal.

This settles the question. This shows the ground upon which the Supreme Court upheld the Geary law. If there is anyone who thinks that it does not show that the Geary law was in violation of the treaty, and that the court upheld it notwithstanding that fact, I would like to hear him give some explanation of the decision of the court which I do not find in it.

Let me go quickly to my next proposition, because I want to proceed in logical order to the several propositions which lead to the conclusion that if we desire to do justice in this country we must pass the bill that is before us.

My next proposition is a very important one in connection with this controversy. That proposition is that every single Chinese person in reference to whom the Geary law proposed to legislate is lawfully domiciled within the territory of the United States. Just think of it for a moment! The Geary law, by all or by any of its

provisions, does not pretend to operate upon anyone except those who are lawfully resident within the United States, and who have come here under the treaties and in pursuance of the laws by which we invited them to come here and share in the hospitality of the free institutions of this country.

Let me give you a few words upon this, and then let us see what we are doing by our refusal to extend the time, within any reasonable limit, for those people to comply with the provisions of the Geary law:

Says the court :

While subsequently under this treaty Congress passed several acts to restrict the entrance into this country of Chinese laborers, and while the validity of this restriction was sustained in the Chinese exclusion case, yet no act has been passed denying the right of those laborers who had once lawfully entered the country to remain; and they are here not as travelers or only temporarily.

They are here under the treaty, and under the laws under which we have invited them to come here.

I turn next to page 754, which is about all I will read on this subject, and I read it because the language is much stronger than any that I could make use of, and the whole proposition is stated so clearly as to deserve the attention of every member of this House :

The moment any human being from a country at peace with us comes within the jurisdiction of the United States with their consent . . . he becomes subject to all their laws, is amenable to their punishment, and entitled to their protection. Arbitrary and despotic power can no more be exercised over them, with reference to their persons and property, than over the persons and property of native-born citizens. They differ only from citizens in that they cannot vote

or hold any public office. As men having our common humanity, they are protected by all the guaranties of the Constitution. To hold that they are subject to any different law, or are less protected in any particular than other persons, is, in my judgment, to ignore the teachings of our history, the practice of our Government, and the language of the Constitution.

Let us test this doctrine by an illustration. If a foreigner who resides in the country by its consent commits a public offense, is he subject to be cut down, maltreated, imprisoned, or put to death by violence without accusation made, trial had, and judgment of an established tribunal following the regular forms of judicial procedure? If any rule in the administration of justice is to be omitted or discarded in his case, what rule is it to be? If one rule may lawfully be laid aside in his case, another rule may also be laid aside, and all rules may be discarded.

In such instance, a rule of evidence may be set aside in one case, a rule of pleading in another; the testimony of eye-witnesses may be rejected and hearsay adopted, or no evidence at all may be received, but simply an inspection of the accused, as is often the case in tribunals of Asiatic countries, where personal caprice and not settled rules prevail. That would be to establish a pure, simple, undisguised despotism and tyranny with respect to foreigners resident in the country by its consent, and such an exercise of power is not permissible under our Constitution. Arbitrary and tyrannical power has no place in our system.

I have read a quotation from the opinion of Justice Field in the first of these cases. This is from the dissenting opinion of Justice Field in the last case.

MR. MAGUIRE. He dissented from the decision of the court?

MR. RAYNER. Yes, sir; but let me remind the gentleman that Justice Field delivered the opinion of the court in the first one of these exclusion cases; and in the opinion from which I have just read, Justice Field repeats substantially the opinion he had delivered in the first one

of these exclusion acts, in which he held that the law was a valid law although in violation of a treaty, because it related only to persons who had not acquired a residence in this country ; and in this opinion he is drawing a distinction as clear as daylight to the mind of any man conversant with the elementary principles of his profession and the elementary principles of international law, between a foreigner who has not acquired a residence in the country and whom you propose to exclude, and a foreigner who has acquired a residence in the country under a treaty adopted in his behalf.

MR. RAY. Does Justice Field in that opinion hold that these laws are inoperative because in contravention of the treaty ?

MR. RAYNER. No ; not at all. Not only does Justice Field not hold that proposition, but he had already held with reference to the first of these exclusion acts that went to the Supreme Court of the United States (I think in 130 United States Reports) that a law, though in violation of a treaty, is perfectly good and is paramount to the treaty.

MR. RAY. The language then which he uses is not directed to any particular conclusion, but it is in the way of general remark.

MR. RAYNER. General remarks, reaching the conclusion and drawing the distinction that I have tried to draw between excluding Chinese in the first instance and transporting them after they have become residents of the country under treaties with a foreign government.

MR. RAY. If the gentleman will permit, I would like to ask him for information merely, whether the Admin-

istration has done anything whatever to enforce these laws—to enforce the Geary act?

MR. RAYNER. I am coming to that point in a moment. But I answer the gentleman no, and rightfully not. I stand by everything the Administration and the officers of the Government have done with reference to the Geary act.

MR. RAY. How could they rightfully refuse to carry out a law which was upon the statute book and which had been declared to be valid?

MR. RAYNER. In the first place, the Administration and its officers were, in my opinion, perfectly justified in suspending the operation of a law which was then under argument in the Supreme Court of the United States, and before any decision whatever had been rendered upon its validity. In the second place, I go a step farther and I say that the Administration even now, if it had the means at its disposal (but it has not the means to enforce the law), would be perfectly justified in suspending the operation of this law while an act for its extension was under consideration by the Congress of the United States.

This sort of thing often happens in the States, and no fault has been found with it at all. How often in the States the constitutionality of some statute is questioned and the matter goes to the appellate court of the State, while in the meantime the law is not enforced until the decision of the court has been had. I take this ground, even admitting that there is sufficient money in the hands of the Government to enforce the law. But I cannot take the statement of the gentleman from California that the

sum of \$25,000 was enough to transport 100,000 Chinamen across the sea.

But, I uphold the Administration in what it has done in reference to this matter, because I think the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General, have only done what seemed best to them, for the best interests of their country, according to the highest dictates of their consciences and the obligation which they were under to the people of the United States.

MR. RAY. That may be in this case. But I would not understand the gentleman from Maryland to argue that in all cases the Executive of the Government may refuse to carry out the law, simply because some case was pending either as to the constitutionality or the propriety of the measure?

MR. RAYNER. No, I do not go that far. By no means could that be charged. But I do say, and I wish to be understood as saying this: The gentleman from New York will take the question as it exists, with all of its surroundings. Let him go with me and examine the case in that light. Here were two or three, certainly two among the most distinguished lawyers in the country, who had devoted a great deal of labor to the examination of the question here involved, Mr. Choate, Mr. Carter, and afterwards Mr. Ashton, and still afterwards Mr. Evarts, in the Supreme Court of the United States.

These lawyers gave an opinion shared in by almost every member of the profession to whom I have talked about the question before its decision by the Supreme

Court. I was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and signed the report in favor of the Geary bill——

MR. GEARY. Will the gentleman allow a question just here?

MR. RAYNER. In a moment.

I recollect saying to MR. GEARY at the time that I thought the law was unconstitutional. That was my opinion at the time.

MR. RAY. Now, will the gentleman permit me a further interruption? I would like to know why you signed the report recommending the passage of an act which you believed to be unconstitutional?

MR. RAYNER. I have often voted for measures whose constitutionality was doubtful, in order to give the courts the right to pass on the question. I do not believe in a member of a legislative body following his own opinion, and turning down a law because he believes it to be unconstitutional.

So far as the report was concerned, I signed it on faith, on the faith I had in the distinguished gentleman from California. I have learned a little better since then, and would not be willing always to act on faith as readily as I did then—even on the faith that I have in the honorable gentleman from California.

A MEMBER. Do you believe it necessary to repeal the existing law?

MR. RAYNER. I am not in favor of repealing the Geary law——

MR. RAY. Is it not true that the decision of the Supreme Court was rendered on the 5th of May?

MR. RAYNER. On the 15th of May.

MR. RAY. Now, that being the case, let me ask the gentleman if the Administration has done anything since then to carry out the provisions of the existing law?

MR. RAYNER. The Administration has not had the means within its power to enforce the law, and even if it had the means within its power to do so, I have already stated to the gentleman from New York that with a strong possibility of the time being extended in a measure now pending before Congress that the Administration is absolutely justified in not enforcing the law until Congress passes on the question with which it is now confronted.

MR. GEARY. Will the gentleman now yield for the question that I desired to ask him a few moments since?

MR. RAYNER. Certainly.

MR. GEARY. Will you kindly tell me when Mr. Choate rendered any opinion in regard to the constitutionality of that law? I have heard it declared on the floor of this House more than once. I would like to know when that was given.

MR. RAYNER. I can not give you the date. Do you mean the date?

MR. GEARY. I mean at any time prior to the 15th of May, when the Supreme Court rendered its decision upon the matter.

MR. RAYNER. I am not able to give the information. I was informed that he had rendered a decision upon the matter. Mr. Choate tried the case and Mr. Evarts tried it, and they gave an opinion upon it I understand.

MR. MCCREARY of Kentucky. If the gentleman from Maryland will permit me, I have the opinions in writing of Messrs. Carter and Ashton, one rendered in November, the other in December, and I have the authority of the gentleman from Illinois [MR. HITT] that Mr. Choate rendered an opinion. Is that not true? (Addressing MR. HITT.)

MR. HITT. I did not see any written opinion, but he expressed the opinion to me, and stated that he gave it to his clients.

MR. RAYNER. It makes little difference—

MR. GEARY. Will the gentleman allow me to interrupt him for another question?

MR. RAYNER. Certainly.

MR. GEARY.- As a matter of fact, I wanted to get the gentleman's opinion on this point. Is it not true that Mr. Ashton and Mr. Carter, while declaring the law unconstitutional, warned these people that the Supreme Court might not agree with them? Further, is it not a fact that when the act of 1888 was signed, Messrs. Carter and Ashton and others advised the Chinese that it was unconstitutional and they were overruled by the Supreme Court?

If you relied upon a man's judgment upon one legal question, and the Supreme Court reversed him, then the next time he gave you an opinion, and warned you of his doubt on the question, would not you think he possibly might be mistaken?

MR. RAYNER. I do not know all the opinions which have been given to the Chinese. All I know is that

the statement has been continually made, and without any contradiction at all, that they were advised by able counsel, and among them Messrs. Choate, Carter, and Ashton, and afterwards by Mr. Evarts, that the law was unconstitutional. We are not concerned very much about what opinions anyone gave. I believe it was the overwhelming opinion of the members of the profession who had examined this question that this law was unconstitutional.

MR. HARTMAN. You say the Administration was justified in suspending the operation of this law. If that be the case, is not the Administration justified in suspending the operation of any law? If it may suspend the operation of one law, may it not suspend the operation of all laws, and thereby nullify the action of the National Legislature?

MR. RAYNER. I would say to the gentleman that is a question which answers itself. I do not think the Administration has a right to suspend all laws. I have given the peculiar circumstances—owing to the fact that this case was in the Supreme Court of the United States—which, in my opinion, justified the Administration in doing what it has done.

MR. OUTHWAITE. The Administration has suspended the operation of other laws. Other administrations have suspended the operation of laws that were under consideration in the Supreme Court.

MR. RAYNER. There is no political question involved in this matter at all, and I want to state to gentlemen from the Pacific coast that I have no feeling upon the

subject. On the contrary, I am willing to meet them upon the broadest and most conservative ground. I know the hardships under which they are laboring, and before I get through with the argument I propose to make, you will see that I am not an extremist, and I want to see you protected as fully as possible in all the rights in which you want to be protected.

Let me say one word, the most important of all, in passing. I think there are very few members in this House, except, perhaps, the members from California and other gentlemen who are interested in this question, who have really read the Geary law. Let me read to you one or two sections of it, and let me appeal to the members of the legal profession in this House, if there had not been any action of any court upon this question, what would have been their opinion upon two or three of the provisions that are contained in the Geary law, and whether any lawyer who understood his profession was not justified in advising these people that the chances were largely in favor of the Supreme Court pronouncing this measure to be unconstitutional.

Just look for a moment at section three. If there is any such legislation as this in the history of the United States, or in the history of any State, I have certainly never seen it. Just look at it:

That any Chinese person, or person of Chinese descent, arrested under the provisions of this act, or of the acts hereby extended, shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, unless such person shall establish, by affirmative proof to the satisfaction of such judge, his lawful right to remain in the United States—

MR. MAGUIRE rose.

MR. RAYNER. I want to finish this, and then I will yield for a question. I want to call attention to these three sections in connection with each other. Look at the next section :

That after the passage of this act, on application to any judge for the writ of habeas corpus by any Chinese person, no bail shall be allowed.

No bail shall be allowed !

But such application shall be heard and determined promptly without unnecessary delay.

Look at it for a moment. Here is a law that arrests a man without a warrant, and after he is arrested without a warrant, gives him no compulsory process for his witnesses, and after he comes up before the judge, arrested without a warrant, and without any legal right to bring his witnesses into court, if he sues out his writ of habeas corpus, confines him without bail ; and after he has done all of this, he is pronounced guilty unless he can prove himself innocent.

MR. VAN VOORHIS of New York. Did the Supreme Court hold that to be constitutional ?

MR. RAYNER. The Supreme Court held every one of these things to constitute no objection to the law, and Judge Gray, delivering the opinion of the court, goes over the ground showing why it is not in violation of the Constitution.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. What law is that ?

MR. RAYNER. It is the Geary law I am quoting from.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. Did you approve of it?

MR. RAYNER. No, I condemn every section I have read; but I did approve of the other portion of the Geary act, which provides for registration. I condemn the section that provides for arrest without warrant; I denounce the section that gives them no compulsory process after they have been arrested without warrant, and confines them without bail while the writ of habeas corpus is pending, and I trample upon the section that proclaims that a man is to be held guilty unless he proves himself to be innocent.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. Did the gentleman vote for that law when it was on its passage?

MR. RAYNER. I did.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. Why?

MR. RAYNER. I have already stated that I did so upon the faith of what the gentleman from California said, and so did all of us. I think it was a unanimous report from our committee; and I want to say to the gentleman from Illinois that the question was not discussed in this Congress at all, and that I would not favor the passage of the bill.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. Then the gentleman knew all that and still was in favor of it.

MR. RAYNER. I did not know it contained these provisions.

MR. CANNON of Illinois. That was passed just before an election.

MR. RAYNER. Oh, no; you must not bring in elections here. There are no political considerations in the

matter ; and I say that it was not a question of party success that prevented it from getting proper attention ; I would rather see a Republican President come in than knowingly violate the Constitution of my country.

MR. BARTLETT. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

MR. RAYNER. How much time have I, Mr. Speaker ?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has twenty-seven minutes.

MR. RAYNER. Will you all extend my time ? [Cries of "Yes!"] Then I will answer the gentleman's questions.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

MR. RAYNER. One at a time.

MR. MAGUIRE. Do you say that the legal profession generally believe that because the provision for the imprisonment and the denial of bail were unconstitutional, that these defects in the law rendered the registration and deportation provision unconstitutional ?

MR. RAYNER. Why, certainly. Deportation is punishment ; banishment is punishment. You must separate deportation and banishment for crime of persons domiciled from exclusion of foreigners within our territory.

MR. HITT. And it provides for imprisonment for not less than one year.

MR. BARTLETT. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question ?

MR. MAGUIRE. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question ?

MR. RAYNER. Let me read one or two sections of the Constitution, and I will answer the questions of both gentlemen.

I want to say to the House that I have shown gentlemen that a deputy marshal may roam over the United States and arrest every Chinaman that he may find, and arrest them without warrant. What does he do with them? He can put them in jail, and when the prisoner sues out a writ of habeas corpus he can be remanded without bail. When he comes up for trial he has no compulsory process to obtain his witnesses. And what takes place then? The man is pronounced guilty, and he is deported and banished unless he can affirmatively establish to the court before which he is tried that he has complied with the requirements of the act.

Now, let me give you one or two sections of the Constitution, and then see what you think about it. How do you think this compares with the words contained in the provisions of the Constitution :

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury.

* * * * *

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Where is any section in the Geary law that gives him compulsory process for obtaining witnesses ?

MR. MAGUIRE. The general law gives him process to compel the attendance of witnesses.

MR. RAYNER (continuing to read):

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

* * * * *

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Excessive bail! Why, there is no bail here at all. If a Chinaman committed murder, that is, if he is guilty of murder in the second degree, or only guilty of manslaughter, or if he committed any other violation of the law, he would be allowed to give bail. If, however, he is lawfully domiciled, he is punished by being confined, with bail refused; but if he is a criminal, and if he is convicted of a crime, he can get bail until the question is decided in the courts.

MR. WILSON of Washington. Suppose they are here unlawfully?

MR. RAYNER. I will show you that they are not here unlawfully. No one disputes that these people are here lawfully, apart from the Geary act.

MR. WILSON of Washington. Do you mean to say that a man who smuggles himself into the United States from British Columbia is here lawfully?

MR. RAYNER. I have evidently not had the benefit of the gentleman's attention to the propositions I have been urging. I am not contending for the people who

are here unlawfully ; I am not arguing their case. I am arguing for those who are lawfully here, and whom the provisions of the Geary law admit to be lawfully here, but who have not complied with the formalities of registration.

MR. BARTLETT. Does the gentleman realize that it was decided by the House of Representatives in the last century, on February 25, 1799, that the sending back or deportation of an alien is not a punishment, and that that decision has never been reversed ?

MR. RAYNER. No ; I do not know it, and you do not know it.

MR. BARTLETT. I do know it.

MR. RAYNER. I will satisfy you that you do not know it, and that there never was any decision by the House upon that question. The alien and sedition laws, to which the gentleman refers, were laws that were passed against foreigners who were plotting treason against the Government of the United States, and if gentlemen will read the report of Mr. Madison in the Virginia Legislature—the laws having been referred to the Legislatures of all the States—he will see that it was held that Congress had the right to pass such laws because they were directed against a class of people who were accused of crimes, of fostering revolt against the Government and the institutions of the country.

MR. BARTLETT. I deny the construction. I have examined the report of the House committee very fully.

MR. RAYNER. Just let me read you a few lines of what Mr. Madison said on that subject, for he answers your question much better than I can answer it :

Were it admitted, as is contended, that the act concerning aliens has for its object not a penal but a preventive justice, it would still remain to be proved that it comes within the constitutional power of the Federal Legislature. If the banishment of an alien from a country to which he has been invited as the asylum most auspicious to his happiness—a country where he may have formed the most tender connections, where he may have invested his entire property and acquired property of the real and permanent, as well as of the movable and temporary kind, where he enjoys under the laws a greater share of the blessings of personal security and personal liberty than he can elsewhere hope for—if a banishment of this sort be not a punishment, and among the severest of punishments, it would be difficult to imagine a doom to which the name can be applied.

MR. BARTLETT. What was that? That was the *ex parte* statement or argument of Mr. Madison when he rewrote the resolutions drafted for Kentucky by Thomas Jefferson. It was in a time of great political excitement and conflict, when they dreaded John Adams, and I say the record shows—and I refer to the volume in the Library—that the select committee of the House of Representatives reported a resolution, and the House adopted that report, holding that the deportation or sending away of an alien was not a punishment—a resolution in those very words.

MR. HOOKER of Mississippi. If it was not a punishment, what was it?

MR. RAYNER. I must ask gentlemen to let me proceed uninterruptedly with my argument for a few minutes. If they will do so I shall be much obliged to them. I wish I had the time to point out the difference between passing laws to prevent people who do not live here from coming into the country, and passing laws against

people who do live here and who have come here lawfully under the laws and treaties of the United States. That is the distinction that Mr. Madison drew, and that is the distinction that the judges have always drawn until this remarkable judgment that we have just become acquainted with was launched upon the tide of time.

MR. MAGUIRE rose.

MR. RAYNER. Let me go on uninterruptedly for a few minutes.

MR. MAGUIRE. I simply wanted to ask what authority——

MR. RAYNER. I prefer not to yield just now.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland declines to yield.

MR. RAYNER. Let me say one word about this attack that has been made on the Administration. I think, to say the least of it, these attacks are very ungracious and unbecoming. That is my opinion about them. I think the President of the United States has performed his duty according to the dictates of his conscience.

I have heard no carping criticisms against him from the Republican side of this House. He does not believe in bartering away the principles by which he was swept into power by an overwhelming verdict of public opinion. He is not a politician or a trimmer; he does not trim with every passing wind so as to float smoothly over the buffeting billows of public opinion. He has done what he considers right in this matter; and if we keep on fighting the President and fighting each other in the way we have been doing, I do not know whether anything

will be left to fight the enemy with when the time comes around.

A MEMBER on the Republican side. We hope not.

MR. RAYNER. Look at the Senate of the United States; to-day it is in a condition of absolute anarchy. This is no longer——

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi and MR. McRAE. I call the gentleman to order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Mississippi calls the gentleman from Maryland to order.

MR. RAYNER. I was not referring to any Senator of the United States.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. There is but one Senate of the United States.

The SPEAKER. The Chair does not think it is in order for the gentleman to refer in that way to the co-ordinate branch of Congress.

MR. RAYNER. The Administration does not need any defense at my hands. If you have the right to attack it I think I have a right to defend it; but it does not require any defense at my hands at all. I do not think any member has a right to attack either the President of the United States or a Cabinet officer as the gentleman from California has seen fit to do. I think it is a breach of the privileges of this House.

MR. WILSON of Washington. Will I interrupt the gentleman if I ask him a question? I do not desire to disturb his argument; but does he not think——

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Maryland yield

MR. RAYNER. I yield.

MR. WILSON of Washington. As the gentleman was remarking that we were attacking the President and Cabinet officers, I wish to ask him this question: When a Cabinet officer signs a telegram instructing a United States attorney not to enforce the laws on the statute book of the country, does not the gentleman think it is about time for the American Congress to have something to say on this subject?

MR. RAYNER. When I stated that I thought the Senate was in a condition of anarchy, I thought I had as much right to make that statement as other gentlemen had the right to attack the President of the United States, the Attorney-General, and the Secretary of the Treasury upon the floor of this House. I did not think it was any breach of parliamentary propriety, especially as the country generally agrees with me on this subject.

MR. DENSON. Your remark was very undemocratic.

MR. RAYNER. Your ideas of Democracy and mine, thank God, are widely different.

MR. DENSON. And they always will be so as long as the gentleman stands where he now does.

MR. WILSON of Washington. The gentleman has been criticising also the Supreme Court of the United States—the highest judicial body in the country.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. May I ask the gentleman a question which he can answer very briefly?

MR. RAYNER. Yes, sir.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Those obnoxious sections of the Geary law that you have been commenting

on as cruel, inhuman and unconstitutional—are you now attempting to repeal them?

MR. RAYNER. Not at all.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Well, then?

MR. RAYNER. You have answered your own question; you know we are not attempting to repeal them. I am giving the reasons why in common justice I will vote to extend the time. I am giving strong reasons why these persons had a right to rely upon the opinion given to them in good faith as to the unconstitutionality of this law.

MR. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. I understood the gentleman to be arguing against the constitutionality of the law and in favor of its nonexecution.

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Maryland yield?

MR. RAYNER. No, sir; I prefer to go on and finish what I have to say. I contend that these people have some rights under these treaties. The Chinese are evidently human beings; God must have created them for some purpose other than to be hunted and pursued like the beasts of the jungle. The gentleman from California would subject them to the same treatment that the Pariahs in India are subjected to except, perhaps, that he would drive them into the sea instead of the mountains. It was currently said here a few weeks ago when the statement was made that the failure to pass this bill would bring down retaliation by the Chinese Government upon American missionaries resident abroad, that that did not concern us.

Well, now, sir, it does concern me. I am not connected with any denomination or institution that is represented by missionaries. But I am not in favor of a policy that would subject the Church to any additional hardship or molest it in the slightest degree in the great work that it is accomplishing for religion and humanity. These heroic men and women have sacrificed almost every comfort of life. They have braved and courted suffering and affliction. They have defied dangers and perils from which most of us would recoil, and under the supreme and divine inspiration of their belief they have planted the emblem of their faith, and with it the advantages of civilization in the darkest corners of the globe, where tyranny reigns supreme and barbarism with all of its horrors prevails. God forbid that I should do any act to jeopardize the cause for which they are laboring or to bring upon their devoted heads the revengeful spirit of an outraged people.

MR. GEARY. Will the gentleman allow me a correction?

MR. RAYNER. On the missionary business I will.

MR. GEARY. No; I wish to correct the statements which have been made in reference to myself.

MR. RAYNER. Well, I can not yield for that purpose. The gentleman has had his time. In what I am saying I am making no comment whatever upon the gentleman from California.

MR. GEARY. But the gentleman has made statements that call for an answer. He has intimated that I would be guilty of all this exhibition of cruelty towards these

people to which he has from time to time alluded. I wish to say that it is not so. I do not believe that there is a man living who has been more anxious to see these people fairly dealt with and protect them than I have been.

MR. RAYNER. I have not said to the contrary.

MR. GEARY. You said that I would desire to treat them as the Pariahs of India have been treated.

MR. RAYNER. Very well, then, I will withdraw that.

MR. GEARY. You said that I would drive them into the ocean, and treat them with unheard-of cruelty and barbarism.

MR. RAYNER. Then I will say that the gentleman does not want to treat them as the Pariahs have been treated, and does not desire to drive them into the ocean; and the best way to prove that is to come up and vote for the extension of this law. That will test the matter. That will be a proof of the gentleman's position. That is an act of humanity if he desires to treat them with humanity.

Now, sir, there is a word more. I have said that there are but one or two instances in history parallel to the harsh legislation here practiced by the American Congress. It is almost identical with the treatment of the Jews by the Government of Russia in recent years. I ask gentlemen to look at the two cases and you will find them almost precisely parallel. And still in this age of enlightened progress, in this boasted civilization of the nineteenth century, we are asked to perpetrate an indignity in this country just as flagrant and monstrous

as the Government of Russia has perpetrated against that people, an injustice and a wrong that we have over and over again denounced and condemned in the most unmeasured terms.

Something has been said in this debate about the Moors and their expulsion from Spain, and the banishment of the Jews under penalty of death during the reign of Edward I, as well as the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which gave religious liberty to the protestants in France. But all of these pale into insignificance when compared with the cruelty and injustice we are about to perpetrate upon a helpless people, because they were committed at a period when bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism darkened the intellectual mind of Europe, but with us, we are called upon to do this monstrous act when bigotry, oppression, and the spirit of persecution have disappeared beneath the blazing sun of the nineteenth century.

The gentleman from California referred to the fact that religious associations had no right to petition Congress upon this subject. I do not agree with him at all, because religious bodies, as such, have the right to petition just as well as political bodies or commercial bodies, or scientific bodies; and I recognize the right of petition on the part of such a body as I do the right of a board of trade or a banking association or persons engaged in commercial or any other avocations to petition when the question which is involved affects their interests. I am as much in favor, perhaps more so, than my friend from California of keeping church and state apart. And

as deeply as I am impressed with religious convictions, and as profoundly as I reverence every enlightened faith and form of worship, I would rather that the pillars of the church should crumble than that the church should lay its hand upon the free thought or liberal institutions of my country.

Mr. Speaker, just one word and I have finished. Do not understand for one moment, as the gentleman who last questioned me supposed, that I am in favor of protecting the Chinese who are unlawfully in this country. My whole record in this body, while I have been a member of it, will show that I have been consistently opposed to these foreign hordes landing upon our shores, and by their very contact and competition degrading and impoverishing American labor.

But to those of them who are upon our soil lawfully, under the treaties, why let us accord to them at least natural rights and human justice. I am utterly opposed to adopting against them a relentless policy, a policy which, in my deliberate judgment, at this enlightened period of the public progress, is "at utter war with the providence of God, and makes a mockery of religion's holiest offices."

SPEECH

AGAINST A PROTECTIVE TARIFF AND IN FAVOR OF
REDUCING THE DUTY ON COAL, AS REPORTED
BY THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND
MEANS, OF WHICH MR. WILLIAM
L. WILSON WAS CHAIRMAN.
53RD CONGRESS.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: I have upon several occasions in this House given my views upon the subject of the tariff, and I do not find it necessary now to tread the beaten path, either for the enlightenment of the public or to make manifest my own position. I arise for one purpose, and for one purpose alone. I desire to enter a Democratic protest and demurrer against any Democrat standing upon this floor and demanding protective duties for the district that he represents.

The attempt by this amendment is to retain the duty, or a part of the duty, upon coal. Now, coal is the principal product of my own State that is affected by this bill, and I can not be silent and permit my position upon this subject to continue in any doubt either upon this floor or among my constituency at home. I am opposed to keeping the duty upon coal. With great

*The debate is given.

deference to those who differ from me, and without in the slightest degree impugning their motives, I challenge the right of any Democrat to stand upon this floor and vote for free trade in everybody else's district and then vote for protection in his own.

MR. MCKAIG. Will the gentleman permit a question?

MR. RAYNER. I will submit to an interruption in a moment; but I did not refer particularly to my colleague.

MR. MCKAIG. I wanted to ask you about your own district.

MR. RAYNER. The coal interests of my State, Mr. Chairman, are largely centered in the city that I represent, and the strongest appeals have come to me that can come to any one to attempt to amend this bill so as to keep the duty upon coal, but I have respectfully declined the proposition.

I am not a Democrat on everything else and a Republican on coal. If raw materials are to be put upon the free list, I want them put in the very places where I can stand in the thick of the contest and bear the brunt of battle with my colleagues on this floor. I have followed the members of this committee far beyond the outposts, and I shall never desert them now when the poisoned shafts are flying from the very citadel of protection.

Now, a few words about coal. Why, sir, to-day, if you take Great Britain and Germany out of the list, the output of coal from the United States is greater than the output of all the other countries on earth combined. It is not only greater than the output of all other countries, with the exception of Germany and Great Britain, but it is almost twice as large.

What is the next fact that we find? We find that we are exporting coal to-day to almost every corner of the globe. A few years ago our exports of coal to Mexico amounted to a few thousand tons. To-day our exports of coal to Mexico amount to 100,000 tons and over. A few years ago our exports to Canada amounted to 100,000 tons. To-day our exports to Canada amount to over a million tons, and I believe the day will come when we will control almost the Canadian market west of Montreal. Let me call attention to one point in connection with this matter. We send coal to Canada, we pay the freight, the transportation on it, and also the Canadian duty, and yet we undersell the Canadian coal-producers in their own markets, at their own doors.

MR. McKAIG. Only west of Quebec.

MR. RAYNER. That does not make any difference. One-half of all the coal exported by the United States last year went to Canada. I repeat, we pay the freight and transportation to Canada, we pay the Canadian duty, which is almost as high as the American—ours being 75 cents and the Canadian 60 cents—and yet we undersell the Canadians in their own markets. And, although we are able to do that, we are told that we can not compete with Canadian coal in our own market. That is protection logic.

MR. ALDERSON. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that Canadian coal and anthracite coal are very different articles.

MR. RAYNER. I am talking about bituminous coal. I will yield in a moment. Mr. Chairman, I will admit,

in answer to the gentleman from West Virginia, and in answer to the question that I suppose the gentleman from Maryland [MR. MCKAIG] intended to ask me—

MR. MCKAIG. Let me ask the question first, will you?

MR. RAYNER. I think I know your question. I will admit that free coal will come in for the purpose of use on the New England coast.

MR. MCKAIG. That is not the question I intended to ask.

MR. RAYNER. But I want to call your attention to the fact that when you get beyond the coast and into the interior, Nova Scotia free coal can not compete with American coal.

But I want to call attention to another fact. What are you going to do about the Pacific States? Look for a moment at the gross injustice in connection with this question. The Pacific States get no coal at all from the Eastern mines. If I am wrong about that, I will permit my friend from West Virginia [MR. ALDERSON] or my colleague from Maryland [MR. MCKAIG] to correct me. I say the Pacific States get no coal at all from Maryland or West Virginia.

MR. ALDERSON. Certainly not; they get their coal from British Columbia.

MR. RAYNER. That is admitted; that is just what I say. They get their coal from British Columbia and Australia; and they get some—very little, however—from the State of the gentleman who is standing up over there [MR. WILSON of Washington]. The whole coal

product of the gentleman's State did not amount to over a million of tons last year.

MR. WILSON of Washington. We have over a million acres of coal.

MR. RAYNER. Then you do not produce more than a ton an acre.

MR. WILSON of Washington. The gentleman does not know that in reference to my State. He may be thoroughly informed in regard to Nova Scotia coal, but in regard to the coal question as affecting the Pacific coast, he does not know it.

MR. RAYNER. I decline to yield further, as I have only a few minutes.

The Coal Trade Journal shows that the output of the gentleman's State last year was only a million tons; and if there are a million acres of coal there, then they mined only a ton to an acre.

But what I was about to say was this: That outside of the gentleman's State the Pacific States get their coal entirely from British Columbia and Australia, and upon it they must pay a duty of 75 cents a ton. How does that help the Eastern mines? What benefit do the people of Maryland or the people of West Virginia or Virginia or Pennsylvania, or any other Eastern State, derive from compelling the Pacific States to pay a duty of 75 cents a ton on their coal? There was sent to the Congress which passed the McKinley bill a petition from every manufacturer on the Pacific coast, asking Congress to give them free coal.

I wish to make only one other point on this question. What is the profit on coal to-day? I have heard talk

here about reducing the wages of the miner. That is a proposition which has been unmasked long ago by the intelligence of the American people. What is the profit on coal to-day?

I wish I had time to read from the circular of that estimable gentleman, Mr. Davis, to whom I have already referred, the president of the West Virginia Central Railroad. It would tell you that the output of American coal is 150,000,000 tons a year; and the profit on this coal averages 20 cents a ton. That means \$30,000,000 annually to the owners of the mines. And America is exporting coal to every corner of the globe, expanding its markets year by year, so that, within the last four years, we have had an increase in bituminous coal alone of 40,000,000 tons, an average of 10,000,000 tons a year.

Now, while I admit frankly that free Nova Scotia coal will come to the New England coast cheaper than the coal of West Virginia or of my State can get there, I will not admit that Nova Scotia coal can compete with our coal in the interior; and I will not admit that this coal is of as good quality as our coal. I will not admit that we have any right to injure the Pacific States, which derive no benefit from the Eastern mines, by compelling them to pay 75 cents duty on every ton of coal they use.

So much on the question of coal. Now, I utterly deny that it comes within our province as Democratic representatives to stand here and demand protection for the industries of our respective districts——

MR. MCKAIG. Will my colleague allow me to ask him a question?

MR. RAYNER. Not just now; I will do so before I finish. If such a course is justifiable, then there is an end of all Democracy and tariff reform. If we are tariff reformers in everybody else's district except our own, there will be no revenue reform at all; and we may as well resolve ourselves into a mercenary mob, ready to retreat whenever our interests are involved, instead of presenting an unbroken front upon the solemn pledges that we made to the people. If I am here to defend the provisions of the McKinley act so far as Maryland is concerned, then I differ in no respect from a Republican representative who defends that law so far as the interests of Pennsylvania or any other State are concerned.

I ought to cross the line and take my place with him or resign the trust that has been reposed in me by the confidence and suffrages of my party. If the protected industries of our districts threaten us with defeat unless we accede to their demands, is it better to make terms with them and purchase a continuance of our places, or is it the proper course to scorn the proposal and go down, if need be, with the pledges of our platform and the traditions and principles of our party. I come from a manufacturing centre. By this bill duties have been reduced all along the line throughout the district that I represent. I have been appealed to in every case where changes have been made upon the schedules to endeavor to amend this bill so as to keep the duty on.

These appeals have come to me in the strongest way from the most influential sources. I had but one reply substantially to make to them, and that is that I was not

sent here for any such purpose ; that upon this measure I represent my party and my country, and not the protected industries of my district ; and that if the district desires a continuance of the oppressive rates of the McKinley bill it must send a protectionist to Congress ; and that whatever may be the consequences to myself, I shall follow my convictions and not beat a cowardly retreat when the call to arms summons us for action. There are two classes of persons who can no longer be deceived upon this matter—the farmers of this country, who are arraigning this system that has impoverished and bankrupted them ; and the laborers of the country, nineteen-twentieths of whom are not employed in the protected industries at all, who can no longer be intimidated and driven to the polls like cattle to the shambles, and who realize the fact that they earn every dollar of wages they receive, because, as a rule, they work longer and harder and better than any mechanics in the world. We know that in this fight the protected industries are against us, with all the influence they wield and with all the enormous wealth that they possess. It is a fight of the oppressors against their victims, of monopoly against the consumer, and in this contest I am with the consumer.

Twice he has made the fight and twice against apparently terrific odds he won. He has no money to corrupt the suffrage with, but he has certain rights that Providence has given him, which it lies not even in the power of monopoly to deprive him of. I do not believe that you can buy the freemen of America. Their ballots are not

for sale. Whatever benefits the consumer will ultimately benefit the business interests of the country. Every change in the tariff necessarily creates temporary uneasiness. That can not be avoided.

I believe, however, that there is an era of great prosperity in front of this bill ; that with free raw materials untaxed with one exception by any other country, we will be able to hold our own in foreign and domestic markets ; that the time has come when we can compete with other goods in the cities and emporiums of the world ; and, more than this, I believe the time has come when protected capital must make concessions to the middle classes and the poor ; when our people must demand equality under the laws ; when we must have commercial intercourse with the trading nations of the earth, and when the highways of the ocean must be opened for the commerce of mankind, as God intended that they should be.

EULOGY

UPON SENATOR WILSON OF MARYLAND, IN THE
52ND CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER : I can hardly hope to add anything new to the tributes that have been paid to the memory of Senator Wilson. Whatever has been said of him by those who knew him best, has been well deserved. The State that I have the honor, in part, of representing upon this floor cherishes with pride the record of his public services. Maryland has frequently sent to the halls of Congress those who have taken a conspicuous part in the history of the country, but I am sure that no one who has ever represented her, has surpassed Senator Wilson in a faithful devotion to her interests and in a patriotic performance of the duties of his elevated position. He was a true type of the best citizenship of his native State, and his career in official life furnishes an example worthy of emulation.

Upon occasions of this sort the strong ties of friendship and attachment sometimes lead us to overestimate the character of the dead, but I earnestly believe that in this case the plainest statement will furnish the highest panegyric that can possibly be paid to his memory. Almost every good life contains an object lesson, which if studied

and appreciated, may become of great profit and instruction to those who survive. Our lives, though closely analogous, are yet widely apart, and each one manifests its own essential and peculiar features. The distinguishing quality of Judge Wilson's public life was character, if I may use that word in its restricted signification. Men prominent in the public service have attained distinction in various ways; some through the exhibition of dauntless courage at critical periods of the nation's history; others by great originality of thought and diplomacy in the arena of statesmanship; others by wise and successful management upon the field of party conflict; but his heroism and his originality consisted in the subordination of his private ambition to the public good, and in the use of the faculties and ability, with which he was endowed, for the benefit of his constituents and the welfare of his fellow-man. He was imbued with strong convictions, possessed of earnest purposes, and of a sincere desire to do whatever was right, according to the impulses of his heart and the dictates of his conscience, regardless of any reward that it might bring to him, or any hostile criticism that it might subject him to. I would not give a reputation of that sort for all the applause that ever greeted the ear of victory or for all the laurel wreaths that ever adorned the achievements of fame. What is victory, and what is fame, compared with character? What is success, compared with truth and sincerity? What do all these temporary and transient honors amount to, that are but the fleeting possession of a few days, and then forgotten, compared with that immortal honor of

having done what is right, and dying with the conscious satisfaction of having faithfully maintained the principles of truth and justice at the post of public duty.

When we examine the record of Judge Wilson as a member of the Senate, we will find the principles that I have adverted to, illustrated to a remarkable degree. Over and over again upon great public questions, differing from a large number of his constituents, he fearlessly gave expression to the conclusions and convictions of his own mind, upon the subject-matter before him. He never permitted in any instance that I know of, the paltry considerations of personal success or defeat to affect his judgment. When, after patient study and deliberation, his opinion became formed, he never changed it to gratify the ends of personal ambition.

In the examination of the many important matters in which he took a prominent part, he was not in the habit of putting to himself the question, how will this affect my chances or my prospects for a continuance in office, but I apprehend the questions that he did address to himself were, which is the just and honorable side that I ought to take upon this measure; upon which side does the path of duty lie, and I know that when he found it he remained steadfast at his post, and did not swerve to the right and to the left, and trim his sails to make for a harbor of safety.

I believe that his life teaches a lesson, a great lesson, to the generation of young men who may succeed him in these halls. Here is the place where those who represent the intelligence and the wisdom of the country are

supposed to assemble, and day after day we have exhibitions of great intellect and genius manifested from the places that surround me. There is no scarcity of competent and capable men in the councils of the nation. Providence seems to have endowed the human race with an abundance of brains, and when it comes to the use of those great arts which find so frequent an opportunity for display here, the arts of eloquence and of satire and of invective and of ready argument in the heat of discussion and debate, we can more than hold our own with any representative assemblage in the world. I want to say, however, Mr. Speaker, in closing this short tribute to the memory of my distinguished colleague, that while he was a man gifted with those accomplishments and possessed of all the necessary qualifications that entitled him to reflect so much credit upon the State that he represented, that in my opinion, the priceless inheritance that he has left to his family and the legacy that he has bequeathed to those who may follow him, standing out in bold relief, is a pure and spotless character, that corruption never dared approach, and an exalted spirit of patriotism that scorned to compromise that lofty standard of public duty which he had so closely followed in every position of trust and honor that he ever held at the hands of a constituency who will cherish his memory, and who with grateful pride will preserve and treasure high up among the scrolls of its distinguished dead, the recollection of his stainless name.

SPEECH

AGAINST THE RULES ADOPTED BY THE 51ST CON-
GRESS, PRESIDED OVER BY SPEAKER
THOMAS B. REED.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is a central idea dominant in the Constitution that manifests itself throughout the entire framework of the instrument, and that is a recognition of the rights of the minority. It was a sentiment that made its appearance as soon as the colonies assembled to determine upon a form of government and it has impressed itself with an abiding force in that great charter which was the outcome of their patriotic labor. The power of the majority and the right of the minority are correlative propositions that do not conflict or cross each other at any given point. No sooner, however, was the Constitution ratified than there arose a school of commentators and interpreters who completely ignored and rejected the construction yet freshly implanted upon it and clamored for a revised edition which they conceived would more clearly translate the thoughts of those who inspired the original. The political and judicial history of the country represents in its progress the various vicissitudes through which our organic law has passed, but never in its

extremest stages did it ever reach the point of construction claimed for it here upon this floor in the Congress that has just preceded us. Here for the first time in the presence of free institutions was it announced and insisted upon that the minority has no rights whatever, that the majority is alone responsible to the country for such legislation as it may enact, and if the results that it accomplishes are approved of by the people that this approval carries with it their assent to every means and instrumentality by which the legislation was enacted. In my opinion, such a proposition, if carried to its logical conclusion, would gradually undermine our institutions, and eventually result in the overthrow of the Republic.

I am willing to concede at all times to the majority every constitutional right that belongs to it, and I never have believed, except in the case of some great emergency or necessity that obstructive measures should be availed of to defeat that right. The whole theory of our government rests upon the principle that the majority must govern, and the slightest abridgment of that doctrine would at once disturb the symmetry of our institutions. No one can possess stronger convictions than I do upon this subject. But in absolute consistence with that proposition there remains that residuum of power lodged with the minority in every free country to defend its rights, to present its views, to freely discuss and debate within the limits of orderly proceeding, every public question committed to its charge, and to maintain to the last degree those cardinal principles that in the structure

of our government are of equal importance with the rule of the majority. These axioms are, that the majority must not trespass upon constitutional safeguards, must not trample upon established precedents, must not originate revolutionary methods to overturn the warrant and the sanction of authority, and must, through its representative in the chair, with the most sensitive impartiality distribute among the constituencies upon this floor, that balance and equality of parliamentary privilege that is an inherent prerogative of every member here assembled, and which it lies not in the power of any majority to deprive them of, no matter how powerful it may be, except at the sacrifice of freedom and at the risk of revolution.

These two rules, the one that makes the Speaker the judge of what constitutes a dilatory motion, and the other, that enables him to count a constructive quorum, are the broad weapons with which freedom of speech can always be eliminated from the proceedings of this House. The common law, in the darkest periods of its history, so far as I know, never reposed in any judge who ever presided over any of its tribunals the right to refuse to entertain a plea or motion upon the ground that he considered it to be dilatory, and no assemblage of freemen, under any republican form of government, ever yet invested any officer with the arbitrary power to strike down and annihilate the rights of the minority, rights that with us were born with our earliest traditions, have been established by unbroken precedent and custom, that are interwoven with every clause and article of the organic

law under which we live and that are daily recognized in that incomparable arrangement of a great central system, around which sovereign states with reserved minority rights revolve in regular and obedient rotation.

For these general reasons I am opposed to the arbitrary power and the unlimited discretion delegated by these rules to the Speaker of this House. I would not vest an authority of this character in any officer who presides over any tribunal, legislative or judicial. There is no latitude within which the exercise of such a power can be restrained, and there is no end to the abuse that can be practised under its protection. It is a weapon with which tyranny can always defend its pretensions and which furnishes a shield under which a partisan can always hide his passions. It was under this infamous code of procedure that deliberate discussion of the most important measures was abandoned in this House, and the sullen and intolerant will of an individual was substituted in its place. It was under these rules that the Treasury was plundered and the earnings of the people distributed among the interests that are oppressing them. It was under these rules that the representatives of the people were driven like outlaws from their places, quickly to return, however, and attest and resent by their presence the iniquity of the system that proscribed them. It was under these rules that an unconstitutional enactment was forced through this body that incensed the conservatism of the country, that was inflaming the people to desperation and resistance, and the calamity of which was only averted because the Senate recoiled from the task

that had been assigned to it, and refused to resort to the policy of violence defiantly assumed by the presiding officer of this House.

It has been said, however, that these rules promote legislation and expedite the business of the country. I have no doubt that they do. Speaking humbly for myself, I would rather have this body adjourn with an absolutely fruitless session and without placing a single enactment upon the statute book than to commence deliberations under their authority. If we could only sweep away with them the evil deeds which they accomplished, we would be doing a great work, but while we cannot destroy the effect we can strike down the cause, and in striking it down, as we shall now do, we can hold out a strong hope to our countrymen that by the moral force of our example and by the sacrifice that we make in surrendering the advantages that they give us over the minority that is here assembled, that no majority of any party that may ever convene in this House under any exigency or emergency will ever again defy public opinion by recalling them to life from the fate to which they have been consigned, so long as the Republic lives or constitutional liberty survives.

SPEECH

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892, AT THE
CONCORDIA OPERA HOUSE.

(EXTRACTS.)

THE time for action has now arrived. The issues are made up; the evidence has been submitted; the arguments have been advanced, and we await the country's verdict; with suspense and anxiety, it is true, but with unfaltering hope and confidence. My friends, if the country can claim a moment of your time upon Tuesday, then there is every token of a goodly day; if apathy, however, pervades our ranks, then we deserve not the victory for which the battle has been waged.

This has been no tournament to test the strength of individual combatants, but a desperate conflict for rights that could not be surrendered except at the hazard of our freedom. An oppressive system of taxation, such as characterizes the McKinley bill, once fanned the fires of revolution upon New England's shores; the coercion bill, upon which you must pass your judgment, is but the successor of a long line of similar enactments that have, over and over again, aroused the slumbering courage of the subjugated and oppressed, and converted nations of slaves into nations of freemen; the unyielding tyranny

of the Speaker of the House is but a repetition of the same deed that has frequently called into life the latent forces of liberty and planted upon its flag the names of patriots who were overlooked in their generation, but who became the idols of posterity.

Never in my day has such a fight been fought. Three men, with three mad fancies in their brain, arrayed against the nation! Reed, distracted with the delusion that millions of his countrymen must remain unrepresented in the halls of legislation; McKinley, so confused with the tumult of monopoly that he can no longer hear the voice that comes from every home and fireside of this land, entreating him to stay the hand of plunder that is driving them to want and ruin; and Lodge, possessed of the quaint conceit that at this late day a military satrapy can be organized throughout the South, and that by converting its judicial circuits into fortresses and arsenals he can terrify its people into submission and disfranchisement!

It looks to me as if the people would take a holiday next Tuesday;—not a Roman holiday, but one that will be dedicated to serious work. Just think of it! One day's work to settle the political destinies of over sixty millions of people. Battles have been lost and won, cities have been destroyed, fertile plains have been converted into a barren wilderness by marauding armies, and the issues that are involved have been left unsettled and undetermined. We propose, without a deed of violence, through the instrumentality of an untrammelled suffrage, that no one can direct or control, that accom-

plishes its work in secret and that is accountable to no superior force or influence, to break our chains and accomplish our redemption. Everything points in the direction of success. In Virginia the matchless eloquence of Daniels and the untiring zeal of Barbour have kindled the fires on every hill, and calmly but sublimely she proceeds to vindicate her rights and to avenge the insult that was offered to her chosen Representatives in the halls of Congress. In the towns and hamlets of Pennsylvania the staggering columns of the Republican party are retreating before a foeman who throws himself into corruption's camp, as Winkelried at Sempach threw himself upon his country's foes; and from the West telegrams are pouring in upon the Republican committee that Eastern manufacturers must advertise lower prices to stem the torrent in the Congressional districts of Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, that are rising in revolt against the iniquities of the McKinley bill. Now let us lack no discipline. We have suffered more than others at the hands of the present Congress. Maryland industries, employing thousands of wage earners, have been almost paralyzed by the enormous taxation that has been placed upon an article of absolute necessity without which they cannot thrive and prosper. One of our best and truest Representatives, fairly and honorably elected, has been forced and driven from the House; and from a Congressman of this State emanated the effort to strike down our Constitutional right to fairly divide the Districts of this State and to apportion our own Congressional territory.

So far as I am concerned, I believe I can safely say that I have performed my share of the allotted work. Not for myself, I do assure you, because no mere ambition of my own could induce me to undertake the labor that I have borne. You may rest assured of one thing, that, if I shall be chosen by your suffrages to represent you, upon one subject, at least, if upon none other, I shall strive for recognition in your name, and that subject, dear to my heart and embedded in my convictions, is the right of the States to insist upon it that the Constitution of our country shall not be tampered with in spirit or in substance. "Touch not Saguntum!" On this rock we stand. When this rock disintegrates, we perish. Every crumbling fragment of it imperils the Republic, and I tell you, that, while other governments may be shipwrecked, the tide will beat in vain against the bulwark we have reared, if we see to it that this safeguard is kept intact so that no sacrilegious hand shall blast or hew it down.

SPEECH

UPON THE "RUSSIAN PERSECUTIONS," UPON RESOLUTION FROM COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 53RD CONGRESS.

MR. SPEAKER: In my opinion, this Government owes it to itself and to the principles of humanity and equality that it represents to take an active interest in the subject-matter which is now before us. Never upon the pages of modern history has such a scene been presented to mankind, as that which now disfigures the civilization of Russia. I will not venture a narration of the sufferings and atrocities to which millions of helpless people, innocent of any crime against the country that is oppressing them, have been subjected. A thrill of indignation and of resentment fills every impulse of my being as I look around and realize that in this emancipated age of progress the liberal governments of the world should stand by with the most supreme indifference as this ghastly procession of human beings marches on before them to the gates of exile and despair. To-day, when Christianity is stretching forth her tender hands of mercy towards every quarter of this globe, when her attendant ministers with a zeal that no danger can daunt and no peril can intimidate, have explored for converts the arid

deserts of the tropic sun and the frozen fields of the northern zone; to-day, when in the heart of a Christian country a deed of violence is being enacted such as has never been visited upon this afflicted race since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, tell me, why will not the governments of the world combine and demand of this barbarous prince that if he does not amend his code of religious persecution and become a proselyte at the altars of reason and humanity, that he will no longer be tolerated to retain friendly contact and intercourse with the civilized nations of the world.

What is the cause of this intolerance? Have these people committed any crimes against the laws or institutions of Russia? Yes, they have. They have committed the same crime which their forefathers committed and which their posterity will continue to commit to the remotest generation. They have worshipped God according to the traditions of their faith and the dictates of their conscience. Just think of it; here is a people who for centuries were enslaved and exiled, but who have torn asunder their chains and have arisen purified from the fires of persecution, until now, as the result of their restless and untiring energy of purpose, they not only occupy a commanding position in all the marts of trade and commerce, but without attempting to make a convert, they are in silence exercising a most tremendous influence upon the destinies of the spiritual world, in every place and quarter of the globe, except in this benighted land where a code of laws has been promulgated against them, that has despoiled their homes, driven them from their

temples, and sent them forth as outlaws from shore to shore, until weary and exhausted, their pleading voice comes across the waters imploring us to proclaim in the presence of the oppressor's throne, that as a free people, we protest in unmeasured tones against this wrong.

In order to become fully acquainted with the system that prevails in Russia, I have read its Draconian code ; it has now been translated into every language of the living for the edification of mankind, it has been circulated in every library of Europe, and what wounds me to the heart is that this Iliad of a people's woes, echoing from place to place, has never yet struck a responsive chord upon any of the highways and centres of civilization. Read these enactments, directed not against the subjects of Russia, but against the faith and worship of this race, who by no fault of their own have been planted upon its soil, and you will agree with me that since the night of Egyptian bondage, no ban has ever been pronounced by priest or king that ever carried with it such a train of disaster.

You would hardly suppose that in this age, when under the steady stroke of science and education the hands of bigotry and fanaticism have been palsied and the whole fabric of superstition is being convulsed, that in this land which boasts of an established religion as a part of its political system, a relentless policy should be waged against this unfortunate people which as has been truly said is at utter war with the Providence of God.

But it is said by the comity of nations that we have no right to interfere with the treatment to which Russia

subjects its citizens. These people are not citizens of Russia. Robbed of their birthright, unprotected by law, banished and expatriated, they are the citizens of the world. The unwritten law that governs their case is more potent in its obligations than all the established precedents of international usage.

It has been said in extenuation of the policy that the Emperor of Russia is pursuing against them, that he is influenced by the very best intentions and that his acts are not inspired by any malevolent purpose. This I believe. Religious persecutors, as a rule, are always influenced by the best intentions and their motives are generally of the highest and purest character. A celebrated historian has said it is the very ardor of their sincerity that warms them into persecution. It is the holy zeal by which they are fired that quickens their fanaticism into a deadly activity. I humbly pray Heaven in its mercy, may mitigate his zeal and weaken his sincerity, for whenever that takes place, then perhaps Hebrew villages will no longer be consigned to the torch of the marauder and the home of the heretic and the honor of his fireside will no longer be considered the lawful prey of the Russian soldiery.

It is also said that there is an easy escape from all these hardships, if the Hebrew population of Russia will only embrace the established religion of the Empire as provided for by law. This proposition is absolutely true. Almost every one of these statutes provide that they can purchase liberty and equality at the price of apostacy. In reference to this suggestion, I desire to say that if the Emperor of Russia, who is at the head of the

ecclesiastical church of the realm, by some supreme act of inhumanity directed against these prostrate victims of his intolerance, will offer them the alternative of either accepting the faith of their persecutors, or the imposition of an additional servitude, I think I know what the result will be. They will never abandon the altars of their fathers. For centuries their ancestors have spurned the faggot and the flame, and these people, emulating their heroic fortitude, will bear up under affliction, will submit to the sundering of domestic ties and to the agonies of separation, they will defy imprisonment and they will proceed to the inhospitable shores of exile rather than compromise with their tormentors or abandon one article of that immortal creed which during all the generations "in the pastoral tents of the shepherd, in the sumptuous palaces of the kings, and among the broken pillars and arches of the temple has always maintained its inviolable simplicity."

I have uttered with some feeling these few words that I have here spoken in defense of a helpless race. I challenge you to scrutinize the cold letter of the Russian law, the resolution of the committee of ministers or the ordinances of the imperial council, and not be inspired with the same feeling. The heart shudders as we gaze upon these spectral monuments of Russian legislation.

I know that these resolutions are merely the expression of a sentiment, but reflecting the sentiments of sixty millions of freemen, I do not believe that they will fall fruitless even at a despot's throne.

When the Emperor of Russia recalls the fact that his illustrious ancestor, when Christian pilgrims were sub-

jected to all sorts of indignities in the provinces of the Sultan, stretched forth his hand to rescue them from Moslem tyranny, and with a stroke of his pen gave liberty to millions of his countrymen, a deed that was received with acclamation in every darkened corner of the globe where the slave was struggling to be free; I say, when he recollects these deeds and is confronted by the public opinion of a power as friendly to him as we are, he will perhaps realize that all that these people are asking for, one-half of whom by the partition of Poland became his involuntary subjects, are human rights and human recognition from the nations of this earth. And, Mr. Speaker, they will have it.

So far as I am concerned, I have nothing to dissemble or conceal upon the subject. I believe that the day is fast approaching when the figure of despotism shall not cross beyond the shadow of the rising sun, when every form of government upon the continent of Europe that is built upon the bowed bodies of its subjects will perish, and from the ruins there will arise the spirit of Republican institutions. I believe that the people have certain natural rights which it lies not in the power of any despot to deprive them of, and that so far as these natural rights are concerned, the accepted doctrine of mankind will soon become the doctrine that over one hundred years ago we promulgated amid the thunders of the revolution, and that is, that regardless of race or sect, the humblest man who lives in the poorest hut or the lowliest hovel is, before God, the equal of the greatest monarch who rules upon the mightiest throne.

SPEECH

MADE AT A MEETING HELD AT THE ACADEMY OF
MUSIC FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROTESTING
AGAINST THE PASSAGE OF THE
"IRISH CRIMES ACT."

(EXTRACTS.)

THE cause of Ireland is the cause of freedom and humanity. Civilized society presents to the world no spectacle that assimilates itself to the political condition of Ireland to-day. There is something original, there is something almost sublime in the struggle that she is maintaining against her oppressors. The leaders of Irish thought and action, profiting by the experience of history, have thrown down not the gauntlet of war but the challenge of peace, and appealing to the arbitrament of mankind they to-day defy the government of Great Britain and its ministry to justify their cause before the nations of the world. So far as my knowledge goes such a controversy has never been witnessed before, on the one hand the mightiest nation on this earth, with almost unlimited resources, on the other a people absolutely powerless in a military point of view, poor to desolation and crushed almost to despair, but determined to rend their chains by the "justice of their cause and the matchless splendor of their martyrdom and devotion to it."

My friends, it lies not in the power of any Coercion Act that Parliament may pass to throttle this majestic movement. It is not a question of life and death, because if England wanted to convert Ireland into a wilderness she could perhaps accomplish it, but if she wants the rights that Ireland is entitled to have and that God has given her, then they will never be surrendered until every Irish patriot is hunted down and every Irish home is devastated.

You are assembled here to-night to enter an earnest protest against the passage of another coercion bill, better known as the Irish Crimes Law, the last infamous act of English tyranny. An eminent English writer asserted some time ago that the English people, as a rule, knew as little about Ireland as they did about any foreign country. This is exemplified to a remarkable degree in the address that Chief Secretary Balfour delivered in favor of the passage of this bill. He was either ignorant of the condition of the people whose affairs he was commissioned to superintend or his charges were false. I shall be charitable to his excellency and say that he did not tell the truth. He said that the members of the National League relied upon secret societies, the dynamite and the dagger, in order to bring about a state of anarchy by means of assassination. If you leave dynamite out of the question, this is the same charge that, half a century ago, was brought against Daniel O'Connell and the opponents of coercion bills ; but it took then, as it will take under this measure, a hostile court, suborned informers, perjured witnesses and a packed jury, to convict

them. And then, says Mr. Secretary Balfour, the jury system has become impracticable—well, from his point of view, I should say it had. That means that you cannot pack an Irish jury to convict an Irish tenant in favor of an English landlord. And then Mr. Secretary proceeds to charge that witnesses are intimidated; that in seven hundred and fifty-five cases, four hundred and twenty-two injured parties were so terrified that they refused to appear. Well, I am glad of it. This simply means that in four hundred and twenty-two cases the English police were unable to hire and bribe informers to swear away the liberties or lives of their innocent countrymen. And then his honor closes his harangue by proclaiming that the place which the law ought to fill was occupied by the National League. That is about the only true thing he said. Therefore, it makes him very angry—and I rejoice that he is mad—and I want to add to it that he might have said, by way of peroration, that he can never force a law upon the Irish people that the National League will not take the place of. Now, in order to dispossess the Irish peasant, pauperize the land and imprison those who resist the plunderers of their homesteads, what remedy does he propose? Jury trial is to be virtually abolished in Ireland, and the offender is to be convicted—I will not say tried—before a magistracy who hold their office at the bidding of the crown. Who are these functionaries? Why, they bear the same relation to the people of Ireland that the traveling statesmen whom the Government sent south after the war with their carpet-bag in their hand bore to the people of the

conquered territory into which they had emigrated. What else does he propose to do? Why, if an Irishman wants a jury trial, he is to have the pleasure of a sea trip across St. George's channel on a free pass and be accorded the privilege of being hanged by an English jury. The report says that when this portion of the bill was read there was great laughter. I do not wonder; and when they were done laughing the great Balfour replied that it was in the cause of liberty that the Government asked the House to break the yoke under which Ireland was groaning. This was too much even for Balfour, and he sat down amid tumultuous silence to rise no more. But there is another actor in this half tragedy and half comedy who deserves mention. I never knew until I heard Justin McCarthy say so that he was the recognized leader of the Tory party. He has a name that will echo through the ages of undying fame. Who do you suppose it is? W. H. Smith. It might show lamentable ignorance upon my part, but I confess I never knew he was Lord of the Treasury; there are so many dilapidated lords laying around loose in England that I had overlooked Lord W. H. Smith. In reality he is not a peer, but it is about time for him to be made one and to be dumped into the House of Lords,—the last refuge of brainless nobility. What did Smith say; why that the measure was one upon which the government staked its existence, and was more important than the holidays. Well, that shows that Smith knows about as much of Irish character as his accomplice Balfour, because if there is anything more important just about the present time

to an Irishman than a holiday, I have not heard of it. And then last and least comes the Right Honorable Mr. Goschen; he taunted Mr. Gladstone with being an ally of the National League; this was the greatest compliment he could possibly have paid him. Goschen will be buried in oblivion when the immortal name of Gladstone will be ringing through the ages. There is another brilliant light in England that we have not heard from since his return from the Continent, and young Edward's trip to the Continent—Lord Randolph Churchill. Perhaps he is in favor of a Coercion Bill for Wales, in place of Ireland.

My friends, let me say one thing to you, and that is this: since the Union, eighty-six Coercion Bills have been offered, all having one common object, and that is, to destroy the individuality of Ireland, and crush the spirit of her people. What is the result? Why, that Ireland, instead of being coerced, has been approaching closer and closer to the threshold of her freedom. To any one who has followed this struggle as I have tried to do, there can be but one feeling that it can awaken, and that is, the strongest detestation for the policy of a government that has thrown itself in the way of Progress and Liberty, and is concentrating all its strength to imperialize the institutions and provincialize the territory of Ireland and the warmest, deepest love and sympathy for the gallant band of freemen who have sworn by the memory of O'Connell and of Curran, and upon the grave of Emmet, that, though England may by penal statute impair the right of trial by jury, limit the freedom of

speech, and restrict the liberty of the press, the suspense is only temporary, and as sure as the sun will rise upon the morrow, the day of deliverance is at hand, when by the supreme power of public opinion, the rights of your countrymen shall be restored, home rule shall be established, and under the guidance of God the bonds of a union conceived in iniquity and cemented by fraud, shall be loosened, and the Irish people shall have Irish Laws enacted by an Irish Parliament in Ireland assembled.

And what can we do, my friends, to expedite its accomplishment? I can tell you. As Americans who hate tyranny, whatever shape it may assume, we can by public indignation, in conventions assembled, in the legislatures of our States, and in the Congress of this Union, proclaim to Ireland that the heart of this Republic beats in sympathy with her woes, and that, wherever we can, we shall stretch our mighty arm across the waters to help release her from the bondage that has turned the simple happiness of her days into a wretched night of slavery. I read sometime ago in a Tory journal that the better class of Americans were not in sympathy with Ireland in her present struggle. I take this occasion to brand this as a falsehood. Any citizen of this Republic, irrespective of creed or race, who endorses the present policy of the conservative party in England as against the Liberals led by Gladstone, is not a freeman, and does not deserve the blessings of Republican institutions. This is not an issue of race or religion; we should know no creed or any distinctions whatever when questions of Right and Wrong, of Humanity and Inhumanity, are involved.

Let me ask you beware of one thing, and that is expect no reform and accept no compromise from the British House of Lords. You might as well expect reform from the mummies of Egypt. They will draw a Bill that will fool you just as our American House of Lords in this country, drew a Bill in 1876 that fooled the people of this country, and defrauded them of their rights. I would no more accept a Bill for the purchase of Irish holdings framed by Lord Cardogan of the Privy Seal or by Lord Hartington, than I would accept another electoral count bill drawn by Judge Edmonds. Your relief must come from the Commons of England, and as the Commons hold the purse-strings of the nation, experience tells us that the peerage will simply concur in any measure of reform that emanates from the English people.

In conclusion let me say to you that your cause must and will prevail; the body of men that are banded together for the legitimate purpose of restoring home rule to Ireland cannot be put down, they have planted themselves upon the memorable declaration of Curran, who in 1798, when the bayonets were levelled at his breast, proclaimed, "you may assassinate me, but you shall not intimidate me." These men have determined to brave suffering, to bear affliction, to defy imprisonment, and to scorn the scaffold; "oppression, therefore, does not wield the weapons with which to terrify them." They march to prison with a smile of triumph, and they would ascend the gibbet with the same exultant spirit that possessed their forefathers who died in defense of their faith and

freedom. Why, sir, the blood rises to a fever heat and every fibre of the heart thrills with mingled feelings of pity and admiration as we behold the parish priest, the bulwark of Irish liberty, proceeding to the place of torment with the stoicism of a martyr and with the step of a conquering hero.

You must not mind such little trifles as coercion bills. Ireland has passed through such an ordeal of affliction that no calamity that can be visited upon her can aggravate those that she has already sustained. The country that has given birth to some of the greatest statesmen, the verses of whose poets will be repeated so long as the Anglo-Saxon dialect is spoken, whose jurists have adorned the highest tribunals of this earth, and whose soldiers have, upon many a hard-fought field, planted the colors of English victory upon the ramparts of the foe, has been made the victim of the most infamous system of political tyranny that was ever inflicted upon a civilized people. In this, the supreme moment of her trial, let me implore you, be not disheartened or dismayed, but keep your watch-fires burning. Plant yourselves under the banner of your leaders, by the side of Dillon, of Davitt and McCarthy; and last, but greatest of them all, sustain the unfaltering courage of him who leads the van of battle, who, standing at the head of his countrymen, is spreading consternation among the ranks of tyranny wherever his plume is waving, the greatest political organizer of the age, the most undaunted foe that despotism ever encountered—the Liberator, Charles Stewart Parnell. And following these champions, I know they

will lead you to the land of promise, and before this century closes I hope the form of Irish Liberty will arise from the sepulchre in which despotism has laid her low for many a year, that the prophecy of the martyred Emmet will be fulfilled, and Ireland shall take her place among the nations of the earth.

ADDRESS

IN THE MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN OF 1896.

THE MUNICIPAL SITUATION.

I DESIRE to state, that according to my judgment, the best elements of the community in this city have become indifferent to the success of either political party. They intend to vote for the truest men, and they will support the ticket that will best administer the affairs of this city. There has been something radically wrong with the political administration of Baltimore city for some time past. The people are not receiving what they are entitled to, and they are paying entirely too high a consideration for any corresponding benefits. In my opinion, Baltimore city is not calculated to thrive under the continued rule of the Republican party. If we could procure a strictly non-partisan administration of our municipal affairs I would most unquestionably be in favor of it, but if we are driven to a choice between the two parties, other things being equal, I think it would be safer to take our chances with the Democratic party, and, with the faults and blunders that it may have committed in the past, to give it another trial.

THE RECORD OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Why do I say this? Because I believe, under existing circumstances, that the Democratic party would feel more keenly the burden of its responsibility and would make a greater effort to measure up to it. I do not think the Republican party possesses the proper ideas of public responsibility. Its chief aim and purpose seem to be a division of the spoils and offices, and the performance of its obligation to the people appears to be an incidental and subsidiary duty. Its representatives in the halls of legislation, with some rare and praiseworthy exceptions, are all spoilsmen, hungering for the plunder of political victory, and when they satiate their appetite with an office, then they consider that they have accomplished everything that was expected of them. Our own people were always hungry enough themselves, but when they gratified their wants they were willing at least to render public service in return.

Let us take the case of Mr. Wellington in the United States Senate, and I speak of his misfortunes with some degree of sorrow, because I believe that he possesses a number of good traits which his party has not properly appreciated; or let us take the case of Mr. Mudd, an illustrious statesman who always sheds renown and honor upon the name of Maryland whenever he appears as her representative. What business have both of these gentlemen been engaged in lately? In the business for which they were elected or chosen by the people to transact? Not at all. Their whole time has been occupied in an

unseemly quarrel as to which of them shall become the boss of the Republican party in Maryland, and which of them shall control and distribute the spoils of Federal patronage.

Look at the Republican City Council. What has it been? A political combine, with no pride or interest whatever in the progress or the welfare of this city. The record of that body, to state it mildly, is reeking with public suspicion and distrust. Look at the revolutionary proceeding that they formulated as soon as they came into power, overthrowing the charter of the city and depriving its chief executive officer of the principal function that was essential to a proper administration of his office. And for what purpose was this done? To benefit the public or to promote the ends of good government? Not at all. It was done simply because the Mayor refused to ratify the muster-roll of city appointments that the combine had selected and determined upon. If the Democratic party had ever undertaken such a high-handed proceeding as this, it would have been swept out of power at the hands of an outraged and indignant people.

Look at the last Legislature. In the halcyon days of Democratic ring rule the lobby was never greeted with such warm and genuine hospitality. The lobby did not send for the Legislature; the Legislature sent for the lobby. Legislation was marketed in the corridors with as much publicity as attends an ordinary auction sale, and there was no effort made to conceal transactions that our statesmen were almost ashamed to confide to each other in the inmost recesses of their

secret councils. There were some exceptions to this rule. The Speaker of the House, for instance, was a man who never indulged in or tolerated any practice of this sort. Toward him suspicion's shafts never winged their flight. He was as pure as the icicle, and as guileless and as innocent as a suckling lamb. When he changed his vote to Wellington for the United States Senate it was the highest patriotic motive that inspired him, and not the siren voice of Warner, of Washington; and when in the convention at Ocean City, in company with that immaculate statesman of childlike simplicity of character, Dr. Tuck, of Annapolis, he abandoned his friend Wellington to the irony of fate, it was no sordid consideration that influenced him; it was a lofty purpose to serve the cause of reform. Just think of Mudd and reform, and when you are done thinking about Mudd and reform, then think about Dr. Tuck and reform. This serene old gentleman is the type and the emblem of immaculate politics. He has, to my knowledge, for a quarter of a century, stood as a high priest at the altar of reform, and in the midst of thirty-five hundred Anne Arundel county negroes watched its rising incense as the virgins watched the altars of the Roman temple. And when you have finished with the reformers that the Republican party has sent us from its agricultural districts, glance over the spotless list that it has promoted to the front in our own midst. Look at the great reformer, Benjamin Hiss, the trustworthy lieutenant and faithful steward of Colonel Supplee, and then look at Samuel G. Davis, who, as a reformer, standing upon a lofty pedestal, has always

occupied a high and isolated position in this community, and then last, but not least, forget not the great Field Marshal of Reform, Benjamin Andrews. From his earliest days his policy has always been reform, and, my friends, his reform has always been policy.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

It may be said that our party contains elements just as objectionable as those that I refer to. This is true to some extent. I am not palliating their presence. There is one thing, however, that can be said in our favor, and that is, that we are not in the habit of selecting gentlemen like these to represent us in high public places. As a rule, we have been careful about the men whom we have chosen for public office. It is a rare instance in which the Democratic party has presented men of doubtful character for the suffrages of the public, and the whole history of Maryland shows that we have had in legislative bodies and in the halls of Congress a line of representatives against whose fair fame no one has ever dared to raise a murmur of suspicion. I served in the legislature twenty years ago with Philip Frank Thomas, Robert M. McLane, Montgomery Blair, John I. Yellott and others who typified the best traditions of the State, and I had the honor of serving in Congress with Page and Compton and Brattan and Brown and McKaig and Rusk and Shaw and others, who, in point of character, were the equals of any men that were ever sent to Congress from any State. As a rule, we try to keep our

rascals in the background, but the Republican party delights to bring theirs to the front. Sometimes the Republicans make a mistake and nominate a good man for office. They generally do this when they have no idea of electing him, and then the people sometimes take them at their word and elect their candidates. This was notably the case in the selection of Judge Stockbridge and Judge Dobler, both of whom are adding to the renown of our judiciary by the learning and impartiality that distinguish them in the performance of their work. As a rule, however, if you give the Republican party the choice between two candidates, it will always take the inferior man.

MAYOR HOOPER'S REWARD.

Let me furnish you with a striking illustration of the manner in which they reward their public servants. Mr. Hooper, the present Mayor, has certainly performed his duty fearlessly. He has made a good Mayor, honest, faithful, and ambitious to do what is right. If he had united with the political combine in the City Council to raid the civil list and wreck the government of this city, he would have been indorsed for a second term by acclamation, but just because he refused to do this, and just because he was honest and immovable in the performance of his duties, he stood about as much chance as a Chinaman from Hong Kong of receiving a nomination at the hands of the Republican machine. If he had been our Mayor, public opinion and the public press would

have compelled us to have continued him in the discharge of his duties.

MR. WILLIAMS AND MR. MALSTER.

Let us glance at our own position for a moment. We have certainly nominated a good ticket. I do not know in what regard Mr. Malster is expected to make a better Mayor than Mr. Williams. Is there anything that Mr. Malster proposes to accomplish for the public benefit that Mr. Williams is not prepared to do? If there is, I have not heard of it. Suppose that there were no other issues involved, and it was a clean-cut contest between these two gentlemen for the place, could there be any doubt about the duty of party men? The only difference that I know of between them is that under one we will have a Democratic and under the other a Republican administration. Mr. Williams will select capable Democrats to fill the offices and Mr. Malster capable Republicans, if he can find them. I apprehend that there will be no serious difficulty in procuring men to accept the offices. Mr. Malster will have the whole Columbian Club to make his selections from, and I hardly know of any member of that patriotic organization who is not willing, temporarily at least, to sacrifice himself upon the altars of his country, with the exception, perhaps, of Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. A. Worth Spates, and Mr. Frank Duhurst. These gentlemen do not care for any office. We all know that they are in politics simply for their health, and it could not be exacted of them to make the

personal sacrifice of accepting a public place. As it was largely through their efforts that Mr. Malster succeeded in obtaining the honor of a Republican nomination, he might, perhaps, take them into his private cabinet, but I would beg of him, if he should be elected, not to enforce upon them the acceptance of any office that has a salary attached to it, because it is entirely beneath the dignity of great reformers to accept paltry pay as a reward for the unselfish services that they are rendering the community.

THE CITY COUNCIL.

What we need is an intelligent and honest City Council. A Mayor is a mere figurehead unless the members of the Council are willing to work in harmony with him for the good of the city. There was a time when it was an honor to be a member of the City Council. The government of this city ought to be conducted just like the government of any other large corporation, for the benefit of its stockholders. The present City Council has attempted to run it entirely in the interest of an office-grabbing oligarchy of politicians, and, as a citizen deeply interested in the welfare of Baltimore, I cannot conceive of the slightest advantage that we will derive from their continuance in power. We require a great many changes in the administration of our affairs. We want it once and for all understood that municipal franchises ought not to be donated away. The manner in which our streets have been usurped through corporate influence and corporate monopoly is a shame and an outrage. Human life has

been imperiled, property has been invaded, our most beautiful thoroughfares have been disfigured, charters and municipal ordinances are constantly violated, and half a million of people seem to be at the mercy of a band of adventurers who bribe your representatives in the Council, and mock and defy the people in the assertion of their rights. This present Council belonged to the corporations, and it thwarted every effort to bring them to terms. What we want and what we demand in public assemblies of this sort are men who, when the conflict comes between corporate greed and avarice, on the one hand, and the people, upon the other, will take their stand, immovable and unpurchasable, with the people, and I would advise my fellow citizens to scan the whole list of City Councilmen, Democrats as well as Republicans, and deny their suffrages to any man who does not measure up to these requirements.

THE NOMINATION OF MR. WILLIAMS.

I believe that Mr. Williams, the Democratic nominee for Mayor, is an honest and a fearless man. I know him to be a man of honorable instincts and intentions. He has a delicate and a critical duty to perform. He will be the pilot at the helm. Storm clouds are around him, but the rising sun is in front. His ship is freighted with the life of the Democratic party; if he mans her with a faithful crew, he will reach the harbor of safety, but if he commits her to treacherous hands, they will scuttle her and she will be dashed against the rocks.

It has been said that he owes his nomination to a political manager in defiance of the will of the people, and that to defeat the manager you must defeat his candidate. Let me analyze this situation for a moment. As I understand it, Mr. Williams was the choice of the best elements of the Democratic party of Baltimore, including a large number of its most reputable merchants, the pride and honor of their native city. Mr. Rasin, the manager referred to, following in the tide of public opinion, cast his political influence in the convention in favor of Mr. Williams. I do not propose for a moment to justify this condition of affairs, but does that furnish us with any good reason why we should not support Mr. Williams?

If a politician accepts the candidate of the people, is this an argument for us to turn the candidate down? This is quite a different case from the people being compelled to accept the candidate of the managers. I know of no way on this earth by which you can prevent politicians, large or small, from using their influence in political conventions. I wish that I did. I wish that every politician in the United States would go to Alaska and stay there, where the thermometer is seventy degrees below zero, because that is about the only way to freeze them out.

Suppose that Mr. Platt, of New York, would rally his political cohorts to the relief of the imperiled candidacy of Seth Low for Mayor of New York, would that be an argument for voting against Mr. Low? Why, that is the very thing that the reform journals of New

York want him to do, and there would be the wildest rejoicing from every reform tower in New York if such an occurrence would take place. Of course, if I thought that Mr. Williams proposed to have his administration conducted or his appointments dictated by political managers, I would not for a moment lend him my aid or support. The question is, Will Mr. Williams enter upon the duties of his office in the belief that he owes his nomination to the politicians or to the people? Will he restore the same condition of affairs at the City Hall that has pervaded it in times gone by, or will he inaugurate a new system, whose central feature will be the rule of the people and not the rule of the political boss? Will his appointments be creditable ones—men of good reputation and business capacity, whom he would select in his own private enterprises that he has managed so successfully, or will he install into office a body of political hacks and hunkers, who for years past have been the gall and the wormwood and the bane and the blight upon Democratic hopes and prospects? All that I can say upon the matter is that I am willing to trust him. Judging the man by the man and his associates in the walks of private and commercial life, and by the universal esteem in which he is held, and the respect that he commands from his political enemies, as well as from his friends, I believe that it will become his ambition to promote the good government of this city, and not deliberately disappoint the expectations of his closest friends and betray the lifelong confidence which this community has reposed in him.

THE LEGISLATIVE TICKET AND THE PLATFORM.

We now come to another part of this programme, which is attended with some degree of difficulty. A Legislative ticket is before you, upon which a majority of the candidates have publicly declared their purpose to vote for the caucus nominee of the Democratic party for United States Senator, whoever he may be. This is an issue that cannot be kept in the background, and the people cannot be deceived about it. You cannot trick this intelligent community. In what I am about to say, perhaps, I do not agree with a large number of my party friends; but I am sure that my views will meet with the same respectful consideration that I would accord to those who differ from me. Feeling, as I do, with an intensity of purpose and conviction that is not susceptible to change, if I were a member of the next Legislature, I would never, under any circumstances, vote for any man who did not unequivocally represent the sound-money sentiment of Maryland. In this connection I am met with the fact that the Democratic State Convention has adopted a platform which has been severely criticised upon this vital issue. While this is not the sort of a platform that I would have framed by any means, I am very frank to say that, in my judgment, it is a step toward the right direction. That is to say, it is a step away from the Chicago platform, and I hail with inexpressible delight any relief whatever from that awful catastrophe that rent the party in twain and convulsed it in almost every Democratic commonwealth where sound principles of financial honor prevail.

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE.

Let me say a passing word about the financial question. For six years, in Congress, I took a consistent stand upon it without a murmur of disapproval from the district that I had the honor of representing. I do not believe in trimming or compromising upon this subject, but I do believe that the moment you get away from the delusion of a fixed ratio—a ratio now repudiated by every civilized nation upon the globe—that moment you enter upon a field where fanaticism yields and reason resumes its sway. My own belief is that there can be but one standard, and that gold, by universal consent, will continue to be that standard; but I appreciate the fact that there are men of earnest convictions who differ with me in this position, and the moment that they abandon their extreme views, and cease to cling to a ratio that is equivalent to dishonor and repudiation, and commence to discuss bimetalism upon a proper basis, from that moment we can reason together, and make an attempt, by conservative effort within our own party, to devise some plan that will reunite the Democracy of the Union, and not again sink it beneath a tidal wave, beyond the possible hope of resurrection.

OUR DUTY TO SUPPORT THE GOOD CANDIDATES
UPON THE TICKET.

I do not know that it is necessary for me to add anything else to what I have said. I have no intention of abandoning any of the principles or convictions for which

I stand, or recanting any criticism that I may have made in the past upon party methods, which are just as objectionable to me now as they have ever been. I have given the subject honest and thoughtful consideration, and have come to the conclusion, right or wrong, that I cannot, by indirection or silent acquiescence, contribute to the continuance of the Republican party in power in Maryland. I am not a candidate for any office, nor do I look for any reward or political recognition from any source. No such degrading motive influences me. Bred in the strictest school of Democracy, inculcated with its principles in early manhood and in maturer years, advocating them as a representative of an intelligent and patriotic constituency, I have come to the conclusion that my place is within my party, there to help to rectify the abuses that have grown up in our midst, and change the methods that have severed our ranks and alienated our truest friends. Of course, gentlemen who agree with me in my interpretation of Democratic principles, and whom I number among my warmest friends, believe that this is the wrong course to pursue, and that the only way to restore the party to its pristine health and vigor is now to unite with its political enemies and defeat it as at present organized and constituted. I cannot proceed to this extreme. I cannot turn down candidates like Mr. Ford and Mr. Smith and Mr. Williams and Mr. Gorter and Mr. McNulty and others, and hand over the whole administration of this city and State, with its treasury department and its judicial and clerical places, and its

long line of local offices, into the hands of those who have proven themselves so utterly incompetent to manage it. I am afraid of the consequences.

One thing I will say, and that is, that no Democrat has been advised by me to vote for any candidate upon the Democratic ticket who is not qualified in point of character and intelligence to hold the place that he is aspiring for. Party emblems amount to nothing unless the names beneath them sustain the principles that they represent and the traditions for which they stand. I would cut the hickory tree to its roots if its branches were loaded with deadly venom. Vote for persons and for principles, and not for signs and symbols. If you believe that any candidate upon the municipal ticket proposes to hand his office over to the management of a political boss, and not administer it in the interest of the people, strike him down, and if there is a candidate for the Legislature unfitted in point of personal character, or who will betray the confidence of the people and the principles they believe in, refuse to give him your support. There are a great many things in the Democratic party that I would like to change, but I cannot become an apostate from the altars of my faith simply because others worship at the same shrine with whom I do not care to mingle in political communion. The Democratic organization is one body; the Democratic party of Maryland, comprising over one hundred thousand voters, is another and a larger body. I belong to the Democratic party.

THE DEMOCRACY OF THE UNION.

The Democratic party of the nation is divided ; we know this unfortunately to be the fact, but, my friends, we have been divided before, and we have come together again. Upon other occasions in our history conflicting convictions have torn us asunder, but we have over and over again buried the flags of the factions and raised aloft the colors of the Constitution. The Democratic party, that is to say, the party of Jefferson, of Jackson, and of Madison, is not dead. It cannot and it will not die. It was born long before the Chicago platform was framed and it will survive it. It is simply asleep. It is true that it is a restless slumber through which it is passing, disturbed by ugly and delusive visions, but it has slept this way before. From 1860 to 1876 it was wrapt in the shroud of a starless night until the bugle call of Tilden summoned it to arms. Then again in 1876 it passed into the twilight and the darkness until the mighty name of Cleveland aroused us from our slumbers. What has been done in the past will be repeated in the future, and long before the next national convention meets I look with fervent hope and expectation to the coming of a new deliverer of the same heroic mold as those who have preceded him, who will reunite our scattered hosts and lead us from this night of bondage, not to the worship of some grotesque idol painted with fantastic figures, but back again into the land where our fathers dwelt, and at the altars where our fathers knelt to the worship of the "great of old, the dead, but sceptered, sovereigns who rule our spirits from their urns."

ADDRESS

ON "IMPERIALISM." JULY 19TH, 1898.

(EXTRACTS.)

THERE is an incident related of Mr. Canning, Prime Minister of England, that, having upon a certain occasion passed a sleepless night, a member of his family remarked to him the next morning: "Mr. Canning, you appear to have been very restless last night." "Yes," said he, "that is true. While England was sleeping, I was engaged in framing an issue that may perhaps cause the world to tremble." It is a singular historical fact that the issue that Mr. Canning was contemplating at that time was a union between Great Britain and the United States to resist the Holy Alliance, which had taken formal shape in the treaty signed at Paris on September 26, 1815, between the King of Prussia and the Emperors of Austria and Russia. This incident is referred to simply to show that great issues are sometimes framed over night, and questions affecting the destiny of nations are ushered into existence without preparation, and momentous conclusions are reached without forethought, and under the impulse of feeling and passion.

We are now confronted with an issue of this character,

framed over night, and surging in upon us with such tumult and frenzy that unless a halt is called and reason is permitted to resume its sway, no one will be able to predict the evil that we are forging for the coming generations of this land. Thomas Jefferson, replying from his retirement at Monticello to President Monroe, who had asked his advice as to the course that the United States should pursue in reference to the establishment of the *jure divino* autocracies by the sovereigns of Europe, wrote as follows :

The question presented by your letters is the most momentous that has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation; this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the whole ocean of time opening upon us.

What was true then is true now under a somewhat similar state of affairs, and to my conception every other question of national policy, of finance and of economy shade into insignificance upon the approach of this overpowering subject as to whether this Government shall now depart from its landmarks and its traditions, and embark upon schemes of colonization and aggrandizement that will involve us in continual complications with the nations of the world, will subordinate the peaceful pursuits of our people to the achievements of military conquest, and will inevitably change the whole structure of our Government, as contemplated by the patriot minds who framed the charter that has given us our foremost rank and individuality among all the republics upon the pages of history.

As a Democrat, trained in the school of the Constitution, with determined protest and profound conviction, I raise my humble voice against every calamitous measure that is now proposed under the plea of military necessity to imperialize our institutions and expand our possessions beyond those confines within which it was intended that we should work out our manifest destiny by the wisdom of man and the providence of God.

COLONIZATION WILL CHANGE THE STRUCTURE
OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

I would not have it understood for a moment that I interpose any Constitutional objection to the acquisition of additional territory upon the part of the United States. Jefferson, at the time of the Louisiana purchase, wrote to Gallatin regarding the same as follows :

There is no Constitutional difficulty as to the acquisition of territory by the United States. Whether it shall be taken into the Union will become a question of expediency.

Chief Justice Marshall and Chief Justice Taney, in Supreme Court decisions, have both declared that there is an inherent power in our Government to extend its territory, and if we have a right to declare war, it would be an anomaly to assert that we have no right to retain the territory that we may acquire by conquest. My objection is an entirely different one. It is against the principle and against the policy of engaging in any scheme of colonization whatever, and either by protectorates or by their recognition as Territories, or through

their admission as States, to incorporate under us, or with us, races of people who are not homogeneous, who have no interest in common with our own population, who have no adequate understanding of our form of government, who can only be controlled by military authority, whose rebellious tendencies will continually divert our attention from matters of internal importance to matters affecting their interests, and who will inevitably embroil us in controversies with nations whose friendship is of greater value to us than the ownership of bands of savages, whom it will be impossible to elevate and refine, and whose contact with civilization in the race of survivorship will only result in their final disappearance and extinction from among the nations of the earth.

A comparison that will neither serve the purpose of an historical precedent nor a Constitutional authority has been attempted in this regard between the acquisition of places like the Philippines, and the Canaries, and the Caroline and the Ladrone Islands, and Puerto Rico, and other insular possessions in the Pacific and Caribbean, and the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, and the annexation of Texas. Louisiana was contiguous territory, separated by a river from the United States, and it was an absolute necessity that we should control the outlet of the Mississippi to the Gulf. Florida, ceded to us by Spain, was almost similarly situated, and there is not an instance, with the exception of Alaska, in which we have acquired territory which is not adjacent to us, and necessary for commercial purposes and the safety and welfare of the nation. One fact must be borne in mind with

reference to all extensions of territory in the history of our country—we have either obtained it by purchase, or with the consent, expressed or implied, of its inhabitants. Louisiana was purchased by Jefferson for \$15,000,000, Florida was purchased for \$5,000,000, California and New Mexico, in 1848, for \$15,000,000, Arizona, under the Gadsden purchase, in 1853, for \$10,000,000, and Alaska for \$7,000,000, and the republic of Texas came into the Union upon its own application, after diplomatic relations had been established between it and the United States and European powers. How different all this is, and how little of a precedent it furnishes for the colonization by conquest of countries thousands of miles from our shores, of no possible benefit to us in time of peace, and in case of war only encumbering us with additional territory to protect and defend!

THE THIRST FOR CONQUEST.

Let us look at this grotesque picture for a moment. The possessions that we are to seize upon consist largely of islands in remote portions of the earth, occupied by the descendants of cannibals and savages in the most degraded stages of barbarism, and by a population that, under the lash of European and Asiatic tyrants, has been outlawed to the inhospitable shores of exile. It is hardly possible for any one who has not become acquainted with the condition of these tribes through information contained in consular reports to form an adequate idea of the benighted ignorance, the abject destitution and the

moral degradation that exist among them. Even in Hawaii, the American, German and English inhabitants number only 7,000 out of a population of over 100,000. In Puerto Rico, one half of the population are negroes and mulattoes. What are we to do with these tribes, when they are conveyed to us, or when we assume dominion over them? Are we to try and civilize them? Have we not a sufficient population of our own to reclaim and educate without sending our political missionaries all over the seas in search for every barbarous horde that we can lay our hands upon, and, after we acquire them, are we to allow them to remain where they are in the enjoyment of their naked felicity, or are we to transplant them here to our shores to compete with intelligent American labor upon the field of American industry? Is not the whole performance entirely ridiculous? Is it not in deadly conflict with every idea and principle upon which this Government rests to enter upon any such undertaking as this? Where is there any warrant or necessity for it? Until the present war threw the Army and Navy of the country into a fever of delirium raging with the thirst of conquest, where will you find the utterance of a conservative statesman proclaiming that we have any right to enter upon the process of colonization in distant territories, to neglect our own unpopulated expanse and concentrate our efforts and resources upon the development of foreign dependencies at the outposts of civilization, that American civilians have hardly ever seen or heard of. I appeal to the sober sense of my countrymen not to

sanction this headlong, insatiate policy, heretofore condemned upon every public occasion when it has been discussed, utterly subversive of the true and highest interests of the republic, and fraught with innumerable woes that will inevitably follow in the track of its accomplishment.

HOW SHALL WE GOVERN OUR COLONIES?—WHAT IMPERIALISM MEANS.

There is a vital problem in this connection which must be solved before we can formulate any policy upon this subject whatever. How are we to govern these distant possessions in the event that we annex them? There are three ways that this can be done :

First. By colonial government, under pro-consuls, governor or captain-generals, executive councils, viceroys, or perhaps satraps, or some other method in accordance with the old Roman plan, or the present Persian or British system, all of which are somewhat similar in their scope and tendencies. The very contemplation of this idea is abhorrent to every friend of the republic. Taxation without representation is a principle that we fought with fire and sword as we blazed the way for liberty on this continent. No man whose judgment commands the respect of the people would dare in the halls of legislation to defend such a proceeding as this. With the exception of a single genius, whose mind was always darkened with the shadow of monarchical institutions, no man, speaking for his country, from Jefferson to Cleve-

land, has ever proposed such a scheme, in reference to which the very silence of the Constitution shows that its framers never contemplated a posterity degenerate enough to set aside the lessons of Lexington and Bunker Hill.

Second. We can govern them as territories. This was never permanently contemplated by the Constitution. A territory is only a school of preparation for statehood, and a territorial form of government rests upon popular suffrage. If people are not fit to govern themselves in a State, they are not fit to govern themselves in a territory.

Third. The truth of the matter is that there is only one way in which we can carry out successfully the policy of annexation, and that is, eventually, to bring the acquired possessions in as States. And this is what colonization means with us. This is imperialism, as it will be hereafter construed by those who will oppose it at every step of its insidious advance. The Philippines, and Puerto Rico, and the Canaries, and the Carolines, and the Ladrões, and Hawaii, shall all become States of the Union. What a charming prospect there is in store for us! What an exhilarating spectacle this will furnish. Twelve millions of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Spaniards, Malays, Coolies, Indians, Half-breeds, Mulattoes, Negroes and Negritos sending their representatives to the Congress of the United States! Just imagine this motley congregation of muck-runners, hulu-dancers and bull-fighters, in combination with the Populists, holding the balance of power in the Federal Congress. Just think of it for a moment. This beastly race in the Philippines that dwells in the trunks of trees and lives

on roots, whom a naturalist some years ago described as the "Missing Links" of the Darwinian theory, determining upon the fiscal policy of the United States!

THE ARGUMENT OF THE ANNEXATIONISTS.

I know that it is claimed by the advocates of annexation that we require these islands in the ocean for coaling stations in the event of war, and now that the opportunity presents itself for that purpose, we should avail ourselves of it. . One answer to this suggestion is that we had better avoid war and then there will be no necessity for coaling stations. We can carry all the coal we need in time of peace. Naval and military circles assume that war is to become the future occupation of our people. If we follow their advice, where shall we land? We have hitherto declined to adopt this policy through treaty and purchase. What reason is there now for embarking upon it by conquest? The islands of St. Thomas and St. John were offered to us by Denmark, and we declined them, and the annexation by treaty of San Domingo was rejected. Why not branch out and strike for Jamaica and Kingston, the base of operation of the British West India fleet, and the Barbadoes and the Bahamas, or the French possessions of Guadalupe and Martinique? What splendid targets for dynamite shells, and what a magnificent opportunity for bombardment and desolation! In this connection, it might be well to state that the Government of Russia has just contracted for warships and cruisers to be constructed in the United States with

capacity enough to carry coal from St. Petersburg to Port Arthur, a distance of 17,000 miles. Our naval officers, however, say that this is entirely too inconvenient and expensive a process. Well, all that I desire to say upon the subject—and I predict that it is an answer that the country will make when this war has terminated—is that it is not nearly as inconvenient as killing thousands of our young heroes, the flower and chivalry of American manhood, and not nearly as expensive as the maintenance of a naval squadron upon every sea of the globe, and of a standing army to protect our naval stations, at an enormous expense, to be wrung from the hard-earned savings of the people, in addition to a pension list which, at present figures, exceeds the entire cost of maintaining the standing army of the German empire.

ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

If we determine upon this policy of colonization, there is one thing it will surely lead to, which I regard as a fatality that ought to be shunned and avoided, and that is an alliance with some foreign power whose aid we can rely upon in time of war. Great Britain has virtually tendered us such a connection. I would respectfully decline the invitation to this feast, because I believe it is a feast at which we shall not eat, but shall be eaten. Let us do this with feelings of appreciation for the friendly attitude of Great Britain in our present struggle against the most cruel and despotic government of Europe. We all recognize the fact that Great Britain leads the march

of European civilization, but we do not want to imitate her methods or emulate her example. We know that in the Orient she has chained millions of human beings to her triumphal car, and led them not to light, but to the darkness of Calcutta dungeons, and across her inland sea she has wielded the sceptre of oppression over as proud and heroic a race as ever proceeded to the gates of martyrdom. We do not want any alliance with any of the monarchical governments of Europe, because there can be no sympathetic cord to bind us, a nation of freemen, to institutions where the aspirations of the soul and the longings of liberty are crushed and smothered under the trappings of royalty. We should not crave any of their belongings, but preserve friendly relations with all of them; and if we do this, and keep inviolate the policy that was bequeathed to us upon the battle-fields of the Revolution, and stand upon our own territory, our matchless empire between the seas, we can defy them all, if they should ever dare to cross the water and lay their hands upon a single pillar of our temple.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Upon this great issue it seems to me that there is now an opportunity for the Democratic party to retrieve its fallen fortunes. The Democratic party needs an issue, and needs it badly. Whatever may be the inflamed condition of the public mind upon this subject now, writhing under the wounds of war, one thing is sure, and that is, that the period of its convalescence will attest its return

to Constitutional and organic methods. The unpopular side of a question like this, at first, is generally the right side. The greatest historian of England, when he was taunted with the unpopularity of the views that he had expressed, replied to his critics and censors: "I care not for the verdict of London drawing-rooms; I await the verdict of posterity." So it is here. When the final verdict is announced, according to an unbending rule of political science, it will reflect the intelligence and conservatism, and not the fanaticism of the country. Now, let the Democratic party take an unflinching stand upon the rock of the Constitution. Let it bury the dead issues of the past and grasp the hands of its living friends. Here is an issue for the ages. No compromise with Imperialism! It means centralization, increased taxation, standing armies, military usurpation, the degradation of labor, and war, continuous and relentless war—all things to be ashamed of and nothing to be proud of. The Democratic party has, over and over again, rescued the Constitution from the despoiler's hands; here is another chance for it to return to life upon an issue which will give it strength where it is weak, and restore to its folds alienated commonwealths, the spirit of whose citizenship, when awakened to a proper conception of the situation, will revolt against a policy that will undermine and shatter the foundations of Constitutional government.

THE PEOPLE'S RÔLE IN POLITICS.

AT BANQUET OF BUSINESS MENS' DEMOCRATIC ASSO-
CIATION OF NEW YORK, JANUARY 8TH,
1895. JACKSON'S DAY.

THIS is the anniversary of a great day in the history of the Republic, and it is eminently fitting that the day should be commemorated. Anniversaries of great events, however, are of little value, unless they inculcate some lesson that is to be of service in the future. It behooves us, upon occasions of this sort, not so much to take a retrospect of the past, as to survey the present, and see how we stand upon those vital questions that intimately affect our destiny, the stability of our institutions, and the principles that they represent. We all realize the fact that there are important subjects of finance, and of economy, and of governmental policy that confront us, and which must be settled in accordance with the highest standards of honor, and of patriotism ; but, if I may be permitted to say so, there is one subject that, in my humble judgment, overrides them all, and that is, in what manner can political parties be made to best subserve the interests of the people, and the true purposes for which they exist. Are political parties mere machines to mechanically distribute among their followers the spoils

of office, or have they a higher and more intelligent purpose to accomplish, and if they have, in what way can they be turned from the baser uses to which they have been applied and be made the instrumentalities of the public good? In my opinion, the day of questionable methods, and of corruption, and despotic management in the government of political parties is drawing to a close, and the day of honorable methods, of integrity and unselfish leadership is breaking in upon the horizon. A new generation is coming to the front, swayed by a moral purpose; a generation, not of serfs, but of freemen, who require no Field Marshal to direct them; who, without any concert of action, move with fearless step in solid numbers, and who, when it comes to a choice between loyalty to a party organization that is corrupt, and loyalty to principle and honor, hesitate not to trample upon the one in order to save the other. Some persons regard this as a calamity; as a Democrat, trained in the strictest school of Democracy, I regard it as a blessing, and I look upon the detrimental uses to which political parties have been put, in the hands of designing and unscrupulous leaders, as the curse and bane of the Republic. No party can be hurt by driving its bad elements to the rear and bringing its good elements to the front. No party can be weakened by destroying the influences that corrode the foundations upon which it stands; no party can suffer in the slightest degree, or have its fortunes impaired, if the men who have used it for purposes of personal profit and aggrandizement, are excommunicated from its ranks, and their places supplied with men of untainted record, who

love their party, not for the emoluments or the plunder that it bestows, but for the imperishable principles and traditions for which it stands.

THE SALE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

The practical question then that addresses itself everywhere to true and loyal party men, is what can be done to eradicate the evils that are undermining political organizations, and how can they be made a help instead of a hindrance to the parties they represent. I will tell you what I think is the root of all our trouble. We must abolish the office of the political boss, who uses the organization that he controls, and through it, the party, simply for his own personal gain and advancement. We must relegate him to private life, and fill his vacant place with honest and intelligent leadership. Well, how can he be abolished? Why, by driving him from the halls of legislation, where he pursues his calling, levies his iniquitous toll, and sells his political influence to the highest bidder. The moment you take away his profits, you break up his business, and when his business goes, he is politically bankrupt, and his bankruptcy will mean that the people have resumed their own business, that legislative grants and privileges and franchises will no longer be subjects of barter and commerce, that combinations of centralized wealth will no longer own your public servants, and that the Star Chamber of the lobby will no longer be able to torture its victims into obedience to its decree, and submission to its demands. As a

party man, I believe in party organization, and in discipline, but I do not believe that any manager or leader has the right to use the party to enrich himself. The sale of political influence degrades the standard of the public service, it opens up the avenues of temptation to your public representatives, it defiles every proceeding with which it comes in contact upon the pathway of legislation, it is a rank offence against the moral sentiment of every community in which it is practiced, and it ought to be made a crime upon the statute book of every commonwealth in which it prevails.

NOMINATIONS MUST COME FROM THE PEOPLE,
AND NOT FROM THE MANAGERS.

There is another change which we must insist upon in the conduct of political organizations. No man or set of men, I care not what influence they may wield or what cunning they may possess, have a right to dictate the nominations of their party. This practice violates the cardinal principles of republican government. The nominations that go to the people must come from the people, and the people must not be forced to accept a candidate for public office in whose selection they have had no part. It must not be considered a test of party loyalty to vote for men who have been selected in the secret councils of political managers. A man thus chosen, I care not how good his reputation or character may be, is bound to serve those to whom he owes his advancement, and if the mortal conflict comes, as come it will, between his

promoters and sponsors upon the one side and the people upon the other, between private claims and public rights, he will be found, as a rule, not standing erect upon the path of duty, but with the brand of a slave upon his brow, cringing at his master's bidding. It is a humiliating spectacle to see a man of honorable instincts thus situated in a position repulsive to him, but from which he cannot escape, chained as he is by the ties of gratitude to those to whom he owes his preferment. No man ought to be placed in this predicament, and men in public life should be made to feel that they need recognize no master except the people. You may rely upon one thing, and that is that the people will never select men to represent them in public office whose instincts or training lead them to prefer the sutler's camp and the lobby's den to the open field where courage rules and honor blooms.

THE FIGHT OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST CORRUPTION.

These reforms are not difficult of accomplishment. I never saw the day, when corruption met an honest foe, that it did not run like a coward from the field of battle. I have seen the time, and so have you, when one honest voice ringing through a legislative hall has brought to terms the whole assembly and wrung from its grasp the people's rights. I tell you that our whole system of politics is rapidly undergoing the most radical changes. Political managers have taunted the people for a long time with not taking an interest in politics; now they are taking the deepest sort of an interest. In my own

State, college graduates have taken their place at the election booth, and by their presence alone have thwarted every attempt to interfere with the elective franchise and throttle the right of suffrage. The people are coming to the rescue; from your counting houses and your farms, and from your universities, they come, men of patriotic impulse and of moral purpose, impressed with the idea that the Republic is passing through the hour of its crucial test, and that the fight is on in this metropolis and everywhere around us, between the people on the one hand, and those upon the other whose occupation it has been to apportion the rights of freemen, and parcel out the franchises of Democracy. It is an undercurrent that is carrying upon its bosom the intelligence and integrity of the rising generation.

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

This is not an evil omen; this is a good omen for our party, because we shall arise regenerate from the fire that purifies us. We have often encountered the tempest and the storm, and it has often seemed as if we would be shattered into fragments, but we have survived misfortune, and profited by calamity. One thing, as party men, I pray you, let us be steadfast to our faith. No party deserves to live that will barter an imperishable principle for a temporary victory. I would rather be with the vanquished in possession of their birthright, than with the victor in possession of the spoils. Let us maintain our credit at home and abroad, and wherever the name

of the Republic is written, and its emblem appears, let it be honored through the world. The party that is willing to debase the coin and currency of the country, to lower its standard, to deplete the treasury, to break the bond of public and of private obligations, is doomed, and doomed forever it deserves to be. Let us maintain our policy of protecting the people against monopoly, and not protect monopoly against the people. Upon questions of foreign policy, let us defend what belongs to us, but do not let us engage in controversies that do not concern us. Let us be Americans, but not Buccaneers. Let us insist upon it that no despot's hand shall seize the reins of republican government upon this continent, but, on the other hand, when an honest controversy arises, in which each party alleges legitimate claims to doubtful territory, let us be careful how we intrude, except through the intervention of friendly offices.

By the memory of Jackson, that heroic character, whose victory you are celebrating to-night, by the memory of Jefferson, who framed the greatest political charter that was ever delivered to the human race, by the memory of Tilden, who was robbed of his right to rule this people, and whose keen intellect foresaw the dangers that threatened the party that he loved, and by the example of Cleveland, who is as unflinching a foe as corruption ever encountered, I warn you, let us stand by our creed and not abandon the faith of our fathers. We cannot and we must not leave the solid ground upon which we have stood for a century, for the tottering quicksands of a time-serving policy, and we must not become proselytes

to every new fancy that agitates the public mind. I have no fear for the future of our party ; I am not possessed with a gloomy thought upon this subject, but on the contrary, am buoyant with hope. I believe that if we stand upon the rock of principle and preserve inviolate the cardinal tenets of our faith, and trample upon corruption wherever it shows its hateful front, that we will not only recover the political territory that we have lost, but that for a long time to come, we shall be called upon to keep our steadfast vigil at the altars of the Republic.

SPEECH

AT MUSIC HALL, TO RATIFY THE NOMINATION OF
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES,
OCTOBER, 1898.

MR. PRESIDENT, *Ladies and Gentlemen*: I am glad to see that the Democratic party is still alive. We are a hard party to kill. Our enemies are constantly trying to destroy us, and upon quite a number of occasions we have tried to perform that feat ourselves, but we seem to conquer fate and mock calamity. There seems to be a settled purpose that the Democratic party shall not die, and it is a strange thing that we get to the very verge of dissolution, when through some mysterious process we are restored to the fire and vigor of youth, with hope bounding in our breast, and the flush of victory burning upon our cheeks. The truth of the matter is, that the party of Jefferson and Jackson, of Tilden and Cleveland was not born to die. The Republican party came into existence as a temporary expedient cradled amid the throes and convulsions of war. We sprung from the loins of the Constitution, and notwithstanding all the errors we have committed and the fallacies we have followed, the party contains within itself those essentials that are necessary for the organic life of this

government, and we will survive just so long as the Constitution lives.

MARYLAND'S REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

We have assembled here to-night to ratify the nomination of our candidates for Congress, and to try to infuse some spirit into the ranks of the Democracy of this district. We have been admonished by the press to select capable men as our candidates, and we have done the best to follow this advice. It has been said that we must not pay any attention to the independent press. Fight them. Well, the Democratic party has tried that. You recollect the man who thought he was insulted by a newspaper, and went into the editorial rooms to chastise the editor. When he emerged with his eyes partially closed and his ribs twisted, he laconically remarked: "I have seen the editor." The Democratic party of Baltimore has seen the editor, and my idea is that when a paper is a true exponent of public opinion, and is fearless and incorruptible, that the best thing that political leaders can do, is to consult its columns and avail themselves of its suggestions. In this instance we have tried to do this. We have nominated gentlemen of character and ability, of conviction and courage.

Of course, there is one thing you must not expect of them, or of any one else, and that is to rise to the level of the broad statesmanship that distinguishes the present Republican Delegation from Maryland in Congress assembled. It would be a difficult task in this

community to select men who possess the profound learning and the matchless eloquence that has given this delegation such a conspicuous position in the estimation of Speaker Reed and the rest of our countrymen. The magnetic oratory and the words of scholarly wisdom that have fallen from their lips will leave a deep impression upon future generations, and when they leave their seats, we recognize the fact that we shall probably never see their like again. I was in the House of Representatives during the last session asking for some of the Maryland members from one of the employees of the House who ought to be familiar with its roll, and to my utter surprise, he turned to me in seeming seriousness and enquired whether Maryland had any delegation in Congress. An incident of this sort is not apt to make a man feel very proud of his State. I have often thought what a shame it is to select men for a public place, almost as high as a man can occupy, utterly unqualified for its higher duties and utterly incapable of coping with the talent and intellectual force that manifest themselves upon the floor of the House. The time has come to strike for our redemption, and I appeal to the men of capacity in our ranks to take a hand in the work and not let mediocrity and ignorance rule the day in Maryland. It makes the indignant blood rush to the head to find, when a great debate is on in our national assemblage, and New England's thoroughly equipped delegations leading the van, and Virginia and Kentucky and other States with their gifted sons foremost in the intellectual encounters that attract the atten-

tion of the country, that the voice of Maryland whose banner once blazed in the fray with great historic names, should be as hushed and silent as the grave.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

It has been said that there are no issues involved in this campaign except the competency and character of the candidates. We would be willing to rest our case upon this issue, but I do not accept this view, because I believe there are other grave questions that are pressing in upon us for solution. I do not think, however, that the currency question is one of them, because that question is permanently settled with us. It makes very little difference what you or I may think upon this subject, one thing is sure, and that is that this city is overwhelmingly for sound money and will not tolerate as its representative in Congress any one who does not reflect its views. The Democratic party must accept this as a condition, and any attempt to ignore or evade it will only meet with irretrievable disaster. You may tell people who think this way that they are not Democrats, you may hold them up to political derision, you may swing over their heads the battle-ax of a convention, you may brand them with disloyalty, you may excommunicate and ostracise them, but all this has no possible effect upon their convictions. I do not believe that any political convention has the right to bind me upon a question of finance and economy. This is the view I took upon the floor of the House when President Cleveland

assembled the fifty-third Congress to repeal the purchasing clause of the Sherman Bill. At first a storm of criticism was provoked from party friends, but when the vote was taken, a hundred Democrats arrived at the same conclusion, and President Cleveland, backed by Congress, saved the country from panic and disaster. I entertain the greatest respect for those who differ from me, they are men of earnest conviction, and while we may part upon this subject, we are all Democrats tied together by fundamental principles under whose guidance we can march to a common victory. I hold in greater esteem my silver friends who are outspoken in the matter than I do a lot of straddlers and trimmers who are willing to compromise a question that admits of no compromise. A man is not fit to lead public opinion who is willing that it shall lead him, and who has no settled convictions upon public measures. This is the trouble with a great many of our public representatives, who have no opinion of their own, and who are always waiting to find out what their constituents want before taking a positive stand upon public questions. It reminds me very much of an incident that I heard of in Congress some years ago about a gentleman from North Carolina, a colored gentleman who was a representative in Congress, and who in canvassing his district made a long speech elaborating his views upon the issues before the people. This is the way he concluded his oration. "My friends," said he, "I have given you my opinion upon de currency, and de tariff, and de civil service; I am in

favor of a high tariff as high as you can make it, I am in favor of a sound currency, as sound as you can get it, and I am opposed to de civil service law ; dem is my principles and dem is my convictions, but I am a man of de people, and I am in de hands of my friends, and whenever de exigency of de occasion demands it, dem principles and dem convictions are always subject to change and alteration."

THE POLICY OF COLONIZATION.

There is another issue that is now looming up with great significance before us, upon which the intelligent sentiment of the country is divided. It has been called imperialism ; this is a misnomer. Calhoun, who, in my judgment, notwithstanding the errors into which he fell, was the greatest political philosopher that our institutions have ever produced, years ago, gave it the proper name. Colonization is the business we are now engaged in, and the question is, shall it become a part of our national policy, and is it to the welfare or detriment of the Republic that we should enter upon this field. A short time ago, I undertook to give public expression to some views that I entertained upon this subject, a subject to which I had given considerable thought and attention, and they met with comment from intelligent and from ignorant sources. The latter I do not intend to answer, because in this age of knowledge and education, I do not propose to become involved in an argument with ignorance, nor am I in the slightest degree affected by any criticism that emanates from persons who have never

studied the subject, who have never read a line of the Constitution and could not understand it if they did, and who are absolutely unacquainted with the condition and environment of the countries that they profess to be so familiar with. I have strong and abiding convictions upon this subject, and upon the position that the Democratic party ought to assume, and it makes very little difference to me whether I am on the popular or unpopular side of the question. In fact, I would rather be on the unpopular side, because in a controversy of this sort, feeling and passion usurp the place of reason, and at first the masses are generally wrong and the minority is generally right. So far as the war was concerned, no one had his feelings more thoroughly enlisted than I did. In my judgment, it was a holy war, undertaken for a righteous cause, and it looked to me as if for some Providential purpose we were selected as the chosen sons of liberty to inflict a deserved punishment upon a cruel and despotic power that for centuries has tortured the human race. The gallant deeds that have been wrought in our behalf can never die. Maryland clasps to her bosom Schley, the hero of Santiago, and the patriotism of the remotest generations will blaze into fire at the mention of his imperishable name. Dewey's immortal deed will illumine the pages of history, surpassing the memorable feat performed by Sir Francis Drake three hundred years ago when he sailed into the harbor of Cadiz and destroyed the Spanish Armada, Dewey, without a moment's hesitation, without knowing the strength or resources of the enemy, at midnight, eight thousand miles from home, in

a strange land, towards savage shores, sailed into a fortified harbor, and without sacrificing an American life, struck down the despotic colors of Spain from her ancient possessions, and upon her fallen battlements planted the colors of the Republic. We all feel alike upon this theme, but the war is concluded now, and the question is a policy of peace to be determined by statesmen and not by warriors. I have no objection to the United States acquiring bases for naval supplies and for coaling stations, not the slightest whenever they are necessary. What is a coaling station? People talk about coaling stations as if it was necessary in order to have one, for us to take possession of the whole Philippine Archipelago, over a thousand islands, covering over a hundred thousand square miles, with over ten millions of inhabitants. A coaling station is only a coal dump. We have one at Hawaii now, though there is not a pound of coal upon the whole island. It has to be transported there, and then loaded on our vessels. No one has any objections to this, but that is quite a different thing from entering upon a process of colonization, acquiring whole tribes of savages upon the outposts of civilization and governing them by provincial officers, and bringing them in to our shores to compete with American labor upon the field of American industry. I have not the time to discuss the subject to-night; I wish I had. I am opposed to the whole destructive policy; it is against the charter of our independence; it violates the Constitution; it was never dreamt of by the founders of our government; it receives no sanction

from the nature of our institutions ; it changes the whole purpose of the government, and will finally, if persisted in, convert us into a centralized despotism, no longer subject to the will of a free people, but dependent upon standing armies and subject to military usurpation. What do we want with all these places? Have we not enough territory to control now? What do we want with Porto Rico, with three hundred thousand negroes? Have we not a sufficient quantity of them now up on Pennsylvania avenue? I should think the Republican party was busy enough colonizing negroes here in the City of Baltimore without going down to Ponce and San Juan and Guayama for that purpose. Take the Ladrone Islands, for instance. Bands of thieves—that is what Ladrone means. The Island of Thieves was the name given to it by Magellan, their discoverer. Let me read you a short description from Professor Blumentrill's Bibliography of the Philippines of some of these gentlemen from the Philippine jungles. "The original inhabitants of the Philippines are called Aetas or Negritos. They are dwarfs with spindle legs, flat nose and frizzled hair. They have no fixed abodes, and live on roots and reptiles. They often smoke cigars with the burning end between the teeth and possess an extraordinary prehensile power in their toes. The Malay tribes are known as Tagals, Igolotes and Charmorros. The Tagals wear very little if any clothing, the men a pair of trousers, the women a saya. Their principal amusement is cock fighting, and their power of smell is of remarkable acuteness. They have no moral development and are licentious and depraved." We will

have our hands full of this business before we have concluded with it.

Talking about our colored protégés, reminds me of the fact that the colored brother in Maryland has been very ungraciously treated by the Republican party. Without him, the Republicans could hardly carry a precinct in the city and they would be a hopeless minority in the State, and still when it comes to rewarding him for his fidelity, then they draw the line on him. They lash the negroes in Maryland to the polls like dumb, driven cattle, and then when they have voted them, they cast them aside until the next election. Republican politicians regard him as their serf, and so far as political independence goes, he is as much of a chattel slave as he ever was. The situation is a perfectly ludicrous one. All that they have ever done for the negro in this city that I know of, is to send Doctor George Wellington Bryant to jail. That was a high honor and the Doctor appreciated it. It shows at least that they took some notice of him. I have observed that when the Union League and the Columbian Club and other Republican organizations give their great feasts, at which they divide their political plums, the colored brother never receives an invitation. He always receives a cordial invitation to put his cross-mark alongside of Lincoln's head, but when that is over and the banquet takes place, then he is politely requested to remain on the outside and stand around the dumb-waiter and inhale the fragrance of the dishes as they ascend, or linger around the cellar door and breathe the delightful aroma of the empty bottles as they are returned to the kitchen.

ALGERISM.

There is another issue I desire to call your attention to. We will call it Algerism; that is not a misnomer. President McKinley made a great mistake when he selected Mr. Alger, even in time of peace, for his cabinet. A man who had been recommended by a military Court Martial for dismissal, and who, without denial, had been charged by Secretary Sherman with bribing delegations to a national convention, was not a fit person to be entrusted with a cabinet portfolio. In time of war it was a great calamity that an intriguing politician should fill this responsible position. He has used it for personal purposes, and I hope he will be called to account for it in the manner prescribed in the Constitution. The papers of his own party are almost unanimous in his condemnation. He is a candidate for the Senate, and he has parcelled out favoritism to promote his personal advancement. He places the blame upon others, the Surgeon-General, and the Quartermaster, and the Commissary-General and the Brigade and Army Corps Surgeons. Well, let us have the whole of them who are responsible for a deplorable condition that is a lasting stain and disgrace upon the records of the War Department. At the trumpet sound of war, a patriotic response came from the flower and chivalry of the land. They were willing to risk disease, submit to hardship and endure suffering, and burning with an anxious hope to face the enemy, they knew no fear of danger, and courted death for their country's sake. They were entitled to all the care and consideration and

protection that this Government could give them. Every country of the globe, civilized and uncivilized, guards as well as possible the health and lives of its soldiers. It does not kill them unnecessarily. There was plenty of money in the treasury for the purpose. What has become of the hundreds of millions of dollars appropriated by Congress, and under the provisions of an oppressive Revenue Bill wrung from the hard-earned savings of the people. How did the War Department measure up to its responsibility. It was faithless to its trust. In the name of thousands of our returning heroes, blanched and wasted by disease, disease that was neither climatic nor contagious, I charge the War Department, with Alger at its head, with brutality and corruption. In our own civil war, upon the pestilential swamps of the wilderness, and here lately in the Soudan, under a blazing tropical sun, upon the banks of the deadly Nile, within breathing distance of the plagues of Egypt, the army was subject to no such cruel treatment and neglect as our soldiers received upon the camping grounds of Tampa and Chickamauga. Everything was wanting that ought to have been provided. Discomforts that ought not to have been imposed upon beasts of burden were endured with a spirit of resignation and fortitude equal to that displayed by the heroes of the Revolution amid the winter blasts at Valley Forge. The diseases that these men contracted were due to the unsanitary environment of the camps, to the failure to supply them with proper sustenance, to the want of medical stores and hospital supplies, for which the Government had appropriated millions upon millions

of dollars, nearly all of which must have been squandered and stolen under the system of waste and corruption that always prevails when the Republican party is in power. If the smallest fraction of all the accusations that the press is ringing in upon the War Department are true, a fearless exposure ought to be made upon the floor of the House, and the conspirators ought to be brought to the bar of justice. I am not prepared to pass upon this question at all, every side ought to have an impartial hearing. One thing is sure, a dreadful wrong has been committed, the War Department has been controlled by politics and not by patriotism; official favoritism has been the order of the day, and the sacrifice of human life has been made subservient to the ambition of individuals, and as under the Constitution the House of Representatives possesses the sole power of impeachment, when this question comes up in Congress, as come up it will, we do not want representatives who will sit there dumb and speechless, and by silent acquiescence condone the offense; but we want men who, if the facts warrant it, shall unearth and brand this shocking crime against humanity and civilization.

THE EVACUATION OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

There is another subject that we are all deeply concerned in, and that is the evacuation of the State of Maryland by the Republican party. The Republican party is upon the verge of collapse, and within a brief

period they will depart from the scene of their earthly glory with a public record behind them dishonored and degraded. They have sung their own requiem and carefully chosen the spot in which they desire to be interred. It is the grave of violated pledges and broken promises to the people. They have saved us a great deal of trouble by making the necessary arrangements for their own funeral, the hacks have all been provided, the badges of mourning have been selected, the pall-bearers have been named, the flowers have been ordered, and the only thing to do is to conduct the service over the remains. There is only one favor they have asked of us, and that is to postpone the funeral until next Spring and to keep them embalmed until that time, but there is a serious question whether they will last that long. Whether in the Autumn or Spring, one thing has been decided definitely, and that is to have the burial take place from the City Hall. The order of ceremonies will be as follows: Senator Wellington will march at the head of the solemn train, then will follow the immediate family and relatives of the deceased from the Legislature, Speaker Schaefer and Schirm, and Lenderking and Jacobi, then the sarcophagus, borne upon the stalwart shoulders of Mayor Malster, who will require no assistance, and who will also drive the hearse, and then in the rear, last but not least by any means, the multitude will gaze upon the resplendent form of Colonel Supplee, arrayed in the brilliant and gorgeous uniform of his regiment, who, while the grave is being prepared by Sidney Mudd and Charles Wilson, will chant the dirge, and with suppressed

emotion will render the last sad tribute over the remains. I do not know that there will be any weeping upon this occasion. You cannot feel much sympathy for a person who embraces death with cool and deliberate purpose. The Republican party, with a spirit of stoicism worthy of a better cause, has made no effort whatever to avert its impending doom. Never did a party come into power that held out to the people such radiant promises, without the slightest intention of ever fulfilling them. You all recollect the impressive scene at the City Hall when the present administration was installed into office, how we sat like sinners upon the mourners' bench and listened to the swelling notes of the Mayor's inaugural, ringing with the advent of a glorious dawn upon the political horizon. One of the first official acts that signalized the coming era was the appointment of Mr. Flynn, an old Democratic patriarch who, according to tradition, has in times gone by polled more votes for the Democratic party than any precinct within the city. It is said that in his precinct, death had no terror for the political voter, because his name was immortalized upon the registration list, and his vote was always deposited in the ballot box at every election in respect to his memory. There was no unconscious transposition about this appointment either, because our friend Captain Duhurst stood sponsor for the genuine conversion of Mr. Flynn from the iniquitous practices of Democracy to the pure and elevated principles of Republicanism as inculcated by the Columbian Club, a holy brotherhood with whom Mr. Duhurst occupies the position of presiding elder, and who regard our

beloved Mayor as the embodiment of all the saintly virtues of their order. Some time ago I read a very amusing resolution adopted by one of the Republican conventions held here in Maryland. I will read you an extract from it. "That the interests of the people will be best subserved by the wise and able management of the affairs of the State by the Republican party, which in the short time since it has been placed in power has reformed so many public abuses and started this Commonwealth upon a new career of happiness and prosperity." The only prosperity that I know of is among a band of highwaymen at Annapolis, who stationed themselves at the doors of the State House marketing legislation to the highest bidder, and among a lot of freebooters in the Council Chamber who rob the people with the same degree of professional composure and complacency as the padrone does who infests the narrow mountain passes of Italy. I have never in my life, even in reconstruction days among the carpet bag governments of the South, heard of public representatives, openly under the blazing light of the sun, in defiance of grand juries and criminal statutes, enter upon such a crusade of pillage and plunder as the Republican party has in this State. When our party was in power, it was not quite as immaculate as it might have been, but the lamented gentlemen who took charge of legislation at Annapolis, some of whom have left the scene of their earthly labor and are now I hope walking the golden pavements of the New Jerusalem, were accustomed to meet quietly in secluded apartments, with closed doors guarded by sentinels, and there trans-

act those little preliminaries that were necessary to accelerate Bills through the upper and lower houses of the General Assembly. This was bad enough, but during all this time it was a rare thing to find a member of the House or especially of the Senate engaging in schemes of personal bribery and corruption. The Republicans have a different system. With some notable exceptions, their representatives stood in the corridors of the House, and openly levied and received their toll at the gates of legislation. A Speaker of the House was charged with taking bills from the file and withholding them until he consulted Mr. Mudd and his schedule of prices as to the sum that it would take to return them to where they belonged, and a member of the House was openly challenged by a Republican Governor to file a mandamus for a position to which the Governor had appointed him, and declined to do so because he knew the Governor had in his possession the evidence of his malfeasance. And so the dance goes on, a ghastly carnival of riot and corruption. And now the hour has come for the respectable elements of this city to interfere and grasp the poisoned cup before it sends its venomous distilment to the life blood of the community, and with it comes an opportunity for the Democratic party such as it has scarcely ever had before, an opportunity to divest itself of the baneful influences of the past, to cast the burden from its back, to loosen the yoke from its neck, and rise majestic in its stature. Make no mistake, the hour has come. Public opinion from every quarter is closing in upon the Republican party. It looks to me as if the independent Press

and the moral sentiment of the community will both be with us if we conform to a proper standard of public conduct. With encouragement like this we can dispense with the help of mercenaries who always follow in the track of a victorious party and abandon it in the hour of its defeat. I believe that our defeat ought only to strengthen the bonds of our Union. We would never have learned from victory the lessons we have been taught by defeat. What we have lost in power we have gained in principle. I realize the fact that there is dissension in our ranks, but there is nothing strange about that; we have been divided before and have become united again. Our strength consists in the fact that in spite of dissensions there are basic principles that tie us together, so that in the whole history of our party we have never yet sounded a final retreat and surrendered our stronghold to the foe. An incident is related of Napoleon, whether true or not, I do not know, that at the battle of Austerlitz, amid the varying fortunes of the day, when he thought he saw disaster staring him in the face, he went to one of the drummer boys of his chief battalion and said: "Germond, beat a retreat, beat a retreat!" The boy looked at him without moving. "Germond, I say, beat a retreat!" The boy looked in his face and replied: "General, I do not know how to beat a retreat, my master never taught me how to beat a retreat, but I can beat a charge that will rally the living and the dying." "Then beat a charge," said Napoleon. The charge was struck and under its inspiring strains his troops were rallied and the flags of Austria and Russia went down beneath the colors of France. My friends,

our masters never taught us to beat a retreat and we can sound a march in this State to-day that will bring the party back to life, a life that can be fraught with honor and usefulness to the community, but I assure you a life not worth living if it rests upon the level of a low partisanship, and is dedicated to the acquisition of spoils and plunder.

ERRATA.

P. 8, line 21, "it" instead of "their."

P. 93, line 3, insert "if" before "this."

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